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THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

THE most difficult questions that have ever suggested themselves to the mind of man, are these—“*What is the origin of evil? What purpose does it serve in the economy of the universe? Could its intrusion have been prevented?*” It is assumed by many that they pertain to a region of mystery which the human reason is incompetent to penetrate, and, therefore, they must be left unsolved forever. However this may be, we find it impossible to dismiss them from the mind, and in all ages, and among men of every variety of creed, they have enlisted the attention of profound philosophers, and the most earnest theologians. The old patriarch Job, who is said to have been “perfect and upright, one that feared God and eschewed evil,” and who, in spite of his integrity, had seen his possessions swept away and his sons murdered,—sitting among the ashes, cries out in the bitterness of despair, “Let the day perish wherein I was born,—let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it. Why is light given to a man whose way is hid, and whom God hath

hedged in! The earth is given into the hands of the *wicked*: Thou knowest that *I* am not wicked: Thine hands have made me and fashioned me, yet thou dost destroy me. If I be wicked, woe unto me; and if I be righteous, yet might I not lift up my head. I am full of confusion. Are not my days few? Cease, then, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness. Wherefore do the *wicked* live, become old, yea, are mighty in power? Their seed is established in their sight with them, and their offspring before their eyes. Their houses are safe from fear, neither is the rod of God upon them." No language could put the great mystery of evil in a stronger and more impressive form.

In a different spirit, John Stuart Mill says of his father, that "he found it impossible to believe that a world so full of evil was the work of an author combining infinite power with perfect goodness and righteousness. His intellect spurned the subtleties by which men attempt to blind themselves to this open contradiction. I have a hundred times heard him say, that all ages and nations have represented their gods as wicked, in a constantly increasing progression, that mankind have gone on adding trait after trait till they reached the most perfect conception of wickedness which the human mind can devise, and have called this God, and prostrated themselves before it. Think of a being who would make a hell—who would create the human race with the infallible foreknowledge, and, therefore, with the intention, that the great majority of them were to be consigned to horrible and everlasting torment." No *bolder* statement of one phase of the subject could well be made.

What are some of the devices by which men have attempted to solve the problem of evil?

1. In the lower stages of human culture, the prevailing notion has been that there exists a multitude of evil spirits,

or divinities, or demons, each of whom has control over some destructive and malign element of nature, and they are supposed to be the authors of all the calamities that visit the earth. The main object of worship was the propitiation of these powerful and vengeful gods, and no sacrifices were counted too costly, if this result could be secured. This form of mythology has rarely, if ever, assumed a more impressive and majestic form, than it did among our Scandinavian ancestors. It is really a very simple mode of settling the vexed problem of evil, and it is altogether natural that the barbaric mind should have received it and been content with it. Even under the Jewish dispensation, evil demons were held responsible for plagues, and pestilences, and inundations, and mildew, and numberless other afflictions, diseases, and calamities.

2. The theory of a dual deity, of *two* great gods, one good and the other evil, belongs to a somewhat higher state of culture and has been received with favor, even by scholars and philosophers. Mr. Mill, after speaking of his father's refusing to believe that a world so full of evil could be the work of an infinitely powerful and good God, goes on to say, that "the Sabæan or Manichæan theory of a Good and an Evil Principle, struggling against each other for the government of the universe, he would not have equally condemned; and I have heard him express surprise that no one revived it in our time." A system, to which the great Augustine adhered for nine years, and which he abandoned, mainly because of the want of learning and purity existing among its disciples, deserves respectful consideration. It teaches in brief that there were two original substances, in which all opposites centre, and from which they proceed. "God and Hyle, light and darkness, good and evil, absolutely opposed to each other, so as to exclude communication." Matter was not regarded as bad in itself, but it became identified with the bad, or with darkness. God is one with the kingdom of light, the whole forming one substance; and in this kingdom there are twelve sons, or

worlds of light. The kingdom of darkness is divided into five regions, and the demon, or Prince of darkness, holds the same relation to this kingdom that God sustains to the kingdom of light. In some former period of existence, the latter became immersed in the former, and the primitive man was overthrown and imprisoned. He was afterwards delivered, but a portion of the original light still remained lost in the darkness. In order to rescue and revive the lost light, the present universe was formed, and Christ and the Holy Ghost, two new persons, proceeded from God, whose mission it was to redeem the human race. Through their influence, light was attracted from the material world, while the Prince of darkness and the spirits imprisoned in the stars did their best to obstruct this beneficent power. Adam was formed after the image of the primitive man, combining in himself the *two* elements of light and darkness. These opposing elements were propagated in his descendants, the darkness gradually gaining ascendancy, until, in both Judaism and Paganism, it became supreme. At last Christ came to restore the light, which in His person was so pure that it could not associate with matter, and, therefore, everything pertaining to His existence here on earth, which might seem to indicate that He had a physical body, is to be regarded as only phenomenal. Redemption consisted in abstinence from meat and all exciting drinks, from the killing of animals, and the gathering of fruit, and in general from everything likely to make the present life attractive—and from the marriage relations, except as a mere civil engagement—on the part of those who wished to rank with the true elect, absolution and indulgence being provided for the weaker brethren. At death, the children of light were conveyed to the Moon, on a large wheel fitted up with twelve buckets, the full moon being regarded as a ship laden with light. After remaining there fifteen days, they were conveyed to the Sun, the larger light-ship. Having undergone the necessary purification, they were placed in the pure kingdom of light, the bad being consigned to

everlasting damnation. The constitution of the Manichean Church was Episcopal; in the act of worship, they always faced the East; Sunday was kept as "the day of the Sun," with fasting; water baptism was not practiced. The death of Christ and of Manes were both commemorated, but that of the latter with the greater solemnity. It is extraordinary that such a system as this should ever have been recognized within the pale of the Christian Church, but, in some of its features, it has found an advocacy with many who would be very unwilling to be known as Manichæans. In the popular apprehension, the jurisdiction of the world is, in a great degree, divided between God and the devil, and the idea that the present condition of things is the result of transgressions committed by man in a condition of existence, antedating the period of Adam, has of late been revived in the most orthodox quarters.

3. A third form of speculation, which, however, has had but few advocates, is, that the creation is the work of a being, all-powerful, but not altogether benevolent and good,—who might, if he had so chosen, have prevented the introduction of evil and suffering, but which, for reasons satisfactory to himself, he preferred not to do. Inconsistent as such an idea may be with our notion of the Deity, it was not regarded as revolting or absurd, even with the refined and cultivated Greek. That an imperfect god should make an imperfect world, was logical enough, and it may have appeared more reasonable to explain the actual state of things in this way, than by supposing all the sin and all the misery that exist to be the decree of an immaculate and holy God.

4. The fourth theory to be noticed, is, that creation is the work of a God, all good, but not absolutely omnipotent. He would have gladly excluded all evil from the universe, if it had been in his power to do so; but, this being impossible, he did the best which the nature of things allowed. The ancients, who recognized the perpetual interference of demons with the order of nature, if they believed in any

Supreme Being at all, would be likely to adopt this theory, and there still remains a popular view of the devil, which it is difficult to reconcile with any other doctrine. The more modern idea, of which I may have occasion to speak hereafter, that the introduction of evil was incidental to the existence of a race of free, intelligent, moral agents,—the possibility of obedience involving of necessity the possibility of disobedience,—does not require us to accept any such revolting view of the Divine character.

5. There is a fifth theory, which is thus stated by Mr. Hume: "Look round this universe," he says, "what an immense proportion of beings, animated and organized, sensible and active! You admire this prodigious variety and fecundity. But inspect a little more narrowly these living existences, the only beings worth regarding. How hostile and destructive to each other! How insufficient all of them for their own happiness! How contemptible or odious to the spectator! The whole present nothing but the idea of a blind nature, impregnated by a great vivifying principle, and pouring forth from her lap, without discernment or parental care, her maimed and abortive children! Here the Manichæan system occurs as a proper hypothesis to solve the difficulty, and no doubt, in some respects, it is very specious, and has more probability than the common hypothesis, by giving a plausible account of the strange mixture of good and ill which appears in life. But if we consider, on the other hand, the perfect uniformity and agreement of the parts of the universe, we shall not discover in it any marks of the combat of a malevolent with a benevolent being. There is, indeed, an opposition of pains and pleasures in the feelings of sensible creatures; but are not all the operations of nature carried on by an opposition of principles, of hot and cold, moist and dry, light and heavy? The true conclusion is, that the original source of all things is entirely indifferent to all these principles, and has no more regard to good above ill, than to heat above cold, or to drought above moisture, or to light above heavy."

6. I do not know that there is much to choose between Mr. Hume's theory of a God who looks down upon the sins and sorrows of his creatures with serene indifference, and the more popular philosophy of the day, which dismisses God from the jurisdiction of the universe altogether. Upon the whole, I think that the latter view is an improvement upon Mr. Hume. It is true that in order to solve the problem of *sin*, this philosophy may be obliged to ignore its existence altogether, and, inasmuch as the fact of suffering is not to be disposed of in the same way, it may be simply accepted as one of the incidents of existence, which we must try to avoid, if we can, and doggedly endure, when it is inevitable.

7. The Hebrew and the Christian theologies set aside all these devices, and accept the fact that there is one Supreme God, from whom all things proceed, and whose control is absolute, universal and eternal. The Old Testament in the clearest and most positive manner recognizes the jurisdiction of the Deity over the kingdom of evil. "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I, the Lord, do *all* these things." "If the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I, the Lord, have deceived that prophet." In the 22d Chapter of I. Kings we read as follows: "I saw the Lord sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left, and the Lord said: Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said in this manner, and another said in that manner. And then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said: I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him: Wherewith? And he said: I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said: Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also; go forth and do so." This is what Micaiah told the king, by way of warning,—a caution which he failed to heed, and so rushed upon his death. Even as late a prophet as Jeremiah breaks out in this strain: "Oh, Lord God! surely Thou hast

greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, ye shall have peace; whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul." It is in accordance with these views that S. Paul says, in the II. Epistle to the Thessalonians: "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie." In I. Chronicles, 21, 1, we read: "And *Satan* stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." In II. Samuel, 24, 1, the same incident is given in these terms: "And again the anger of the *Lord* was kindled against Israel, and He moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah." The Satan of the period of Job was a being who came up with the sons of God to present himself before the Lord, and received instructions from him as to the course which he was to pursue. There are but two other allusions to Satan in the Old Testament, as where Daniel prays of God to avenge him of his adversaries: "Set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand;" and again, in Zechariah 3, 1: "And he showed me Joshua, the high-priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" There is no allusion to the *devil* in the Old Testament, and all that is said of Satan would seem to indicate that he was regarded rather as an agent of the Almighty, and subject to his direction, than as a being at the head of a conflicting jurisdiction. The demonology of the later Jewish system, as we find it existing at the time of Christ's advent, was derived from other sources than the teaching of the Old Testament, as was also their entire eschatology.

It is not the purpose of this paper to vindicate at any length the Hebraic view of the problem of evil. It is sufficient to say that, imperfect as it may have been, it was far in advance of any other system known in the earlier history of the world, inasmuch as it recognized but one original source of all things,—allowed no other power to come between him and the execution of his designs,—and made

man responsible for his individual sins. The light broke upon our race very gradually and slowly,—many things in the beginning, we are told, were tolerated by God, because of the hardness of men's hearts,—the best thing was done, which the nature of the case rendered possible,—the solution of certain questions was not attempted, which the existing culture of the race incapacitated them to comprehend,—some things were *brought down* to the level of the uneducated conscience of the day, and that was lawful then, which under the higher light of the Gospel would be positively unlawful and immoral. And, still further, no intelligent reader of the Old Testament can fail to observe that the truths presented there, not unfrequently come to us as they are reported by the Jewish medium through which they pass. "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time," thus and thus, and then the Saviour goes on to teach a very different doctrine.

8. Coming now to that which most interests us, viz., the relation which the problem of evil holds to Christianity, I may remark that the New Testament does not profess to deal with the philosophy of the subject, but is more concerned with the question, how is evil to be extirpated? than, how is it to be accounted for? The Saviour corrects a few of the prevailing errors pertaining to the subject,—such as the notion that temporal calamities came as the direct recompense, either of the individual's sin or the sins of his fathers,—and that sin consisted in the outward act and not in the inward motive, but he has nothing to say of the origin of evil. S. Paul tells us that "death reigned from Adam," that "sin entered into the world and death by sin," that the knowledge of sin came by the law, and that if there were no law, there could be no transgression, but there is nothing said in the Scriptures of "the fall of Adam," or of "original sin," or of the "imputation to us of Adam's sin," or of the doctrine that if he had not yielded to temptation we should never have fallen. The silence of the Bible in respect of many of those questions which have been most

earnestly controverted in the Church, is somewhat significant. It was not until theologians began to speculate, that any metaphysical theories of the subject before us began to establish themselves in the Church. The doctrine which under various modifications has prevailed most extensively and influenced the theology of Western Christendom most vitally, originated with Augustine, the converted Manichæan, the influence of which system he does not appear to have ever thoroughly shaken off. The introduction of evil has been popularly attributed throughout Christendom to the devil,—leaving the existence of the devil himself unexplained. All the difficulties that cluster around the abstract question of evil, are by this device only removed one step further back. That an Omnipotent and All-Benevolent God should have allowed the devil to fall from his high estate, is as great a mystery as the fact that any of the human race should ever have been allowed to sin.

The dogmas which have grown out of the Augustinian theology, may be thus briefly stated. Our first parents were created sinless, but they were endowed with such intellectual and sensuous appetites, as to make it possible for them to fall. The arch-tempter was allowed to appeal simultaneously to the thirst after knowledge and the craving after food, and upon the result of this temptation the destiny and character of their entire posterity was suspended. At the first attack, they fell, and so "Death entered into the world, and all our woe."

As the result of their transgression, all human beings come into the world with a constitution organically corrupt, and unless something is done for their rescue, they must either be wiped out of being altogether, or sink world without end, from one depth of damnation, into another deep profounder still. The earliest theory preached in the Church was, that God compounded with the devil, under whose dominion the whole human family had now come, for the deliverance from his toils of a portion of the race, by offering His own Son in their stead. This theory was after-

wards modified, so as to make the salvation of man contingent simply upon the voluntary offering of the Son to take their place. This rescue might have been made universal, inasmuch as it was just as truly in the power of God to save the entire race, as it was to save a part, and the merit of the Saviour being infinite, it would of necessity cover the whole ground of human transgression, and thus the ruin occasioned by sin would be completely remedied, and Satan entirely baffled; but the glory of God demanded that this should not be done, and, therefore, the atonement, although *sufficient* for all, was made *efficient* only in the case of the elect. None would have had any just ground of complaint, if *no* rescue had been provided, for this rescue is an act of free grace and not of justice; in this case, *all* would have been treated according to their deserts, and those who continue to be so treated are no worse off, because others are treated better than they deserve. And still further, the general welfare of the universe may demand that there should be somewhere one flaming beacon of warning, sending forth its hot and lurid rays forever, and it is our misfortune that the human race has been selected to furnish the material by means of which this purpose is accomplished. In modern times, those who still adhere in the main to this system of belief, endeavor to evade its logical conclusions, by asserting that the freedom of the will has never been destroyed, so that it is in one sense possible for all to attain salvation; but, at the same time, they deny that any man will ever exercise his power of choice in the right direction, without the effectual interference of the Divine Spirit, and this, they hold, is given only to those who have been elected to be saved. My restricted limits will not allow me to state the arguments by which this form of theology is defended, and I leave it without comment.

9. I now pass to the statement of the only solution of the general problem of evil, which is in any degree satisfactory to my own mind. Whatever our theological belief may be, and even if we have no such belief, there stands before us,

in all its ghastly features, the terrible fact of sin and of suffering. Our bodies are the vehicle of sharp and bitter pains, and there are agonies of the soul, in the presence of which the intensest physical torture is not heeded. And the questions will force themselves upon us: "Why are we thus constituted? Why are we so strongly impelled by our nature to sin, and then made to suffer so terribly as the result?" Now, we must either limit the Omnipotence of the Creator to such an extent, as forces us to believe that it was impossible for Him to prevent the intrusion of evil, or we must believe that evil entered into His original design, and is so far forth in accordance with His will. And yet, it is not easy to accede to either of these propositions. If we suppose that God is liable in the slightest degree to be thwarted in His general plans, we are obliged to recognize another being, sharing with him creative power; for it is not to be supposed that *He* would create a being capable of interfering with his designs, and opposing His will. But is not this supposition more rational and grateful than to believe that all the misery we endure, is actually willed by God Himself? Is the sin from which this misery springs, the ordinance of a *holy* God? If so, what does sin mean? And how is the creature to be held responsible?

Assuming that God is all-powerful and all-benevolent, that He desires the best thing possible for all His creatures, and has supreme ability to accomplish it, how can we solve the problem of physical and moral evil?

The solution of the problem of physical pain, is comparatively easy. It is our main security against absolute destruction, the sentinel that warns us of danger, and the monitor who cautions us against renewed exposure. Suffering is never a final end; there is no function of our being created on purpose to give us pain; but there are some things worse than pain, and it is to save us from them that we are made susceptible of suffering. If fire did not cause the nerves to quiver, and the cold send a shudder through the frame, and the blow make us ache, and the poison sicken

us, if excessive exertion did not induce fatigue, and if unnatural excitement were not followed by a correspondent reaction, our lives would not be safe for a day.

Neither is there any special difficulty in solving the problem of mental suffering. The sorrow, and shame, and remorse, which follow upon excessive indulgence, or any violation of the laws of our nature, are the checks which are interposed to avert our ruin. They come from no vindictive feeling,—it is not because God delights in our misery, but because He would not see us perish; so that while they show His displeasure at our sin, they are also tokens of the highest love.

It is easy enough then to reconcile the economy of pain with the omnipotence and benevolence of God,—supposing *sin* to exist; but now we come to the far more difficult problem,—the existence of sin in a world which God has made, and over which He has dominion. “Why was man ever tempted at all? What was the precise nature of the first temptation? If he was created pure, and innocent, and upright, to what faculty of his being did the temptation appeal?”

The Church of Rome teaches that the fall of Adam was occasioned by the withdrawal of the supernatural grace, originally conferred upon him, which grace is now restored in baptism. The Genevan school declares it to have been the result of an eternal decree,—the general ruin of the race being ordained with a view to its partial restoration. The prevailing idea in our day, is, that the freedom of man made his fall possible, and that what was thus, in the nature of things, possible, on the first occasion for the exercise of freedom, became actual. None of these theories help the matter much; they do not strike anywhere near the root of the difficulty: the simple question is, can we find a place and a reason for the existence of sin, which shall leave unimpaired both the power and the goodness of God?

It is only by turning our attention to man, the sinner and

the sufferer, and trying to find out what he is, why he exists, and to what he is destined, that we can get any clue to the mystery that perplexes us.

It is evident enough that there is a purpose to be fulfilled in the existence of man, unlike that which is found in the economy of other organized things. The development of all other creatures is limited by their instincts, and that limited development soon becomes complete. A fly is as perfect on the instant of its emergence into life, as it ever can be. The instincts of man are few and feeble, and probably insufficient even to keep him alive. But then he has faculties, which are peculiar to himself. They are capable of unlimited expansion and improvement, and so they would seem to necessitate an unlimited term of existence. But his body dies, as all other bodies die, and if that is the end of him, all the special processes of his being are arrested in their incipiency. We assume, however, in the present argument, that death is not the end, but only a change in the mode and place of his existence. If death is "the all and end all," I do not care whether the problem of evil can be solved or not, and I would prefer to believe that there is no God, rather than to be called upon to adore a Being who lures on his creatures to the practice of virtue by inciting them to expect eternal life, when this will turn out to be only a delusion. What then is the purport of our life here on earth? We can see what is the reason for which other things exist, by just observing of what they are capable. The same rule applies to the human race. It is obvious that the final purpose of our existence can be attained only by culture and discipline;—this world is simply a school, in which we are to be taught, and trained, and drilled, and *disciplined* for another and a higher life. Now, what is the nature of discipline? It supposes effort, restraint, resistance, a contest with some antagonistic influence. We next look into the interior constitution of this extraordinary being, and we find there on the one side reason, on the other side passion,—on the one side con-

science, on the other desire,—on the one side a sense of right, on the other a tendency to wrong. As soon as he is old enough to become a moral agent, these contending and contradicting elements come into collision, and the work of discipline begins. I do not see how man could have been developed upon any other conditions, and these of necessity involve the existence of sin. He must be developed by discipline, and there can be no such thing as moral discipline, without the presence of moral evil. Evil is evil still, but it is essential to the highest good. Sin is hateful to God, and yet it may be used for our benefit. And the sufferings to which we are subjected during this process of discipline, I presume, God regards somewhat as a father looks upon the distress of his child when he tries to master his first difficult lesson, or address himself to any other unwelcome task,—the father is not pleased to see his child suffer, but knowing that these trials are essential to the formation of a manly character, that they will soon be over, and that the child will then be thankful that he was allowed to suffer, the parent does not interfere to prevent it.

I am now prepared to assert that it is impossible to conceive of a single human virtue, which does not presuppose the presence of evil somewhere. If there were no passions to restrain, no offences to pardon, no burdens to share, no dangers to forefend, no sufferings to relieve, no lost to rescue,—how could we ever know what are the resources and capacities of humanity? It is the evil that is in the world, which develops the good. It may seem to us very sad that the struggle should be so long and so destructive, that the chains of the oppressed should be so hard to break, that error and wrong should so often triumph, that selfishness and bigotry and unbelief should still hold so many minds in thralldom; but there is something gained upon the enemy continually, and as the human race advances, the old chronic evils are becoming more and more manageable; there is *organic* progress, as well as individual improvement; the

native stock of the race is improving; the world is wiser and better to-day than it ever was before, and future generations will see an advance upon the present, which will cause them to look back upon us very much as we look back upon our barbaric fathers.

And again, how could we have any positive, distinct conception of good, without some experience of its opposite? If there were no darkness, we should have no notion of light,—if there were no cold, there could be no heat,—if there were no silence, there could be no sound,—if there were no rest, there could be no appreciable motion,—and if there were no negative evil, I do not know how there could be any positive idea of good. Wherever there is sunshine, there must be shadow. He who has never felt the pangs of sickness, can have no consciousness of the blessings of health. He who has endured no fatigue, does not know the meaning of repose. He who fights no battle, wins no victory.

Is there anything in the view which I have now presented, which tends to make sin any the less hateful? No more than there is to make suffering agreeable. Sin is still sinful, as pain is still painful. Or is there anything which tends to lighten the personal responsibility of sin? Our personal accountableness is a matter of consciousness, as our suffering is of experience. No argument can make agony agreeable, and no argument can extinguish the sense of the sinfulness of sin. What I have tried to do is, simply to find a place for suffering and sin, which would reconcile their existence with that of an all-powerful and all-benevolent God. And I resolve the whole difficulty upon the ground that the great import of life is embraced in the word *discipline*, and discipline would be impossible upon any other terms than those which actually exist. If our first parents had remained forever in Paradise, undisturbed by temptation, burdened with no cares, subjected to no self-denying labor, weighed down by no sorrow, they would have continued to be only innocent, harmless, undeveloped

children. The world advances by antagonism, the overcoming of obstruction. It could not advance in any other way. I must clear my path, before I can reach the goal. I cannot be wafted to heaven in a perfumed cloud. I must fight for the crown.

It would be easy still further to vindicate the goodness of God by showing that sin consists simply in the excess or perversion of some function of our being, which, in its normal and natural use, is essential to our welfare. God is not the author of sin, unless he is the author of our volitions; in which case we cease to be men and become machines. And the choice of good on our part involves the alternative choice as possible; we must be able to disobey the law, or we cannot yield a voluntary obedience. It is somewhat common to regard the existing economy of things as imperfect; there is no imperfection except that which comes of our ignorance and perversity. I once heard the remark made by a distinguished Divine, that he sometimes felt as if God must be discouraged, and disposed to destroy the earth, and begin over again. This is a natural feeling, but God is more patient than we are. He is patient, not only because He is merciful, but also because He is inexorable. In the end, justice will be vindicated. Men may riot in sin, lie, blaspheme, steal, murder, commit adultery, torture each other; the weak may be crushed by the strong, fraud win the golden prize, the mean be exalted, the wicked prosper, and no vengeance fall upon the transgressor, to-day or to-morrow or the day following, but the great wheel of destiny rolls on quietly, steadily, irreversibly as the planets in their orbits, and every crime committed here on earth, unrepented of, is as sure to receive its just recompense, as it is sure that God exists.

But, for our comfort, let us remember that he who made the darkness, also makes the light, and the brilliancy of this light is proportionate to the depth of the darkness. It is the darkness which reveals to us the universe; if there were no night, we could never see the stars.

And so out of the dreary background of sin, the glory of the Gospel flashes forth. If there had been no transgression, there could have been no Saviour. If we had never offended God, we could never have felt the depths of his love. If the law of Sinai had not been broken, there would have been no Calvary. If there had been no discords here on earth, the anthem of heaven would have been sung to only one note, and all its sweetest harmonies would have been wanting.

T. M. CLARK.

REVISION OF THE COMMON PRAYER.

THE work of the Committee on the Prayer Book is quite limited in its scope. The resolution under which it acts is as follows :

“Resolved, That a Joint Committee, to consist of seven Bishops, seven Presbyters, and seven laymen, be appointed to consider and report to the next General Convention, whether, in view of the fact that this Church is soon to enter upon the second century of its organized existence in this country, the changed conditions of the national life do not demand certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use.”

The term “liturgical enrichment” refers to the established forms of public worship of the Church, and the committee is to inquire and report as to the propriety of enriching these forms with new materials, and of giving greater flexibility in the use of them, whether so enriched or not. It does not seem to be a fair construction of the resolution that, under the head either of enrichment or flexibility,

anything can be taken away from any one of the offices of the Prayer Book as it now is. The Church has not entrusted to the Committee the subject of *remodelling* the Book or any part of it. Its contents, as it now stands, and has stood in the American Church since its organization, and in the English Church substantially for more than three hundred years, are not involved in the action of the Committee, but, on the contrary, the continuity of the book is to be maintained unbroken, and no radical change is to be attempted, either in the doctrine, discipline or worship of the Church. The Committee is simply to inquire and report as to improvements in the use of the Prayer Book, and as to the possibility of making some valuable contributions to its rich provisions for public worship and devotion.

And first, as to flexibility of use.

If we can trust to the judgment of Bishops, who may be fairly considered representative men in the Church, and to the official action of the General Convention, a good deal of liberty in the use of the Prayer Book is accorded to ministers under the law as it now stands. A committee of the House of Bishops, consisting of Bishops Otey, Doane, A. Potter, Burgess and Williams, to which was referred a memorial upon this subject, having first consulted with a large number of the clergy, in a report made to the General Convention of 1853, among other things recommended for adoption the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of the Bishops (a) the order of Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Communion Service, being separate offices, may, as in former times, be used separately, under the advice of the Bishop of the Diocese. (b) That on special occasions, or at extraordinary services not otherwise provided for, ministers may, at their discretion, use such parts of the Book of Common Prayer, and such lesson or lessons, as shall, in their judgment, tend most to edification. (c) That the Bishops of the several dioceses shall provide such special services as in their judgment shall be required by the peculiar spiritual necessities of any class

or portion of the population within the diocese, provided that such services shall not take the place of services or offices of the Book of Common Prayer in congregations capable of its use."

Of these resolutions Bishop A. Potter, who edited the "Memorial Papers," gave the following explanation: "The resolutions respecting the use of the Prayer Book express simply the opinion of the Bishops as to what, under existing laws, is allowable. They do not recommend that such liberty should everywhere be taken; they merely recognize the right to take it where there is sufficient occasion, and where the right is exercised under proper limitations."

Bishop Burgess, as a sub-committee to whom was especially referred the subject of liturgical services, reports in reference to the abridgment of the service as proposed, among other things, as follows: "If it should be doubted whether the universal usage which had so long prevailed might not have taken away the right to separate these services, which nevertheless our Bishops, in 1826, termed a reasonable and godly practice, yet now, that it has been asserted and carried into effect in particular instances, it must be held to be quite re-established." In reference to assemblies that cannot be viewed as congregations of our Church, he writes that this is a case which the compilers of our Prayer Book were not called to anticipate. "It has now become real and frequent, and the ministers of the Church must often preach the Gospel where the attempt to perform the entire service of an established worship would be incongruous, unsuccessful and injurious. It appears that such of the clergy as have been engaged in missionary labors, at home or in foreign lands, have generally felt themselves at liberty to yield, in such circumstances, to the law of manifest necessity and propriety, and so far to abridge as seemed meet for edification." The right to use the Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Communion Service separately and independently was subsequently more fully recognized in a joint resolution of the General Convention of 1874, which is as follows:

"Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That it is the sense of this Convention that nothing in the present order of the Common Prayer prohibits the separation, when desirable, of the Morning Prayer, the Litany and the order of the administration of the Lord's Supper into distinct services, which may be used independently of each other, and either of them without the others: provided, that when used together they be used in the same order in which they have commonly been used, and in which they stand in the Book of Common Prayer."

The report of the five Bishops from which I have quoted, and the foregoing resolution of the General Convention, both recognize as legal the right of a minister in the morning service to use any or either of the three offices referred to, separately and independently; and the report also expresses the opinion that on special occasions, or at extraordinary services not otherwise provided for—that is, on all occasions not contemplated by the Prayer Book as belonging to the regular public worship of the Church—ministers may, at their discretion, use such parts of the book, and such lesson or lessons, as shall, in their judgment, tend most to edification.

Looking further at those clauses of the report that refer to cases "where the attempt to perform the entire service of an established worship would be incongruous, unsuccessful and injurious," the report would seem substantially to cover the ground embraced in the proposed amendment of the Ratification of the Book of Common Prayer, providing for shortened services, and with a very slight addition as to Morning and Evening Prayer on days other than Sunday, and certain specified days, to answer the same purpose.

It is somewhat extraordinary that these Bishops, representative men as they were of the Church, should, as early as 1853, have taken a position as to the rights and liberty of ministers in the use of the Prayer Book which the General Convention is hardly willing to accord to them even now. But it is to be remembered that a Bishop is brought in con-

tact with the best thought of his diocese, and has extraordinary means of learning the public sentiment of the Church at large, while, until recently, the clergy and laity were more under the influence of their respective localities; and this may, to some extent, account for the fact that must be admitted, that in the past a somewhat bolder and more outspoken policy of reform has characterized the action of the Bishops, and timidity and hesitation that of the House of Deputies. The means of communication are now such, between all parts of a diocese, and between all the dioceses, together with the influence of the press, Church Congresses, meetings of the clergy, committees, etc., as to place the Bishops, Clergy and Laity upon the same footing as to a knowledge of the needs and demands of the Church; and the action of the last General Convention shows that the two Houses are very much in accord upon such subjects. Had the General Convention of 1853, or any subsequent Convention, by a declaratory act, recognized the report of the Bishops referred to as a fair statement of the law of the Church as to flexibility in the use of the Prayer Book, such action would probably have quieted all agitation upon the subject.

In addition to the liberty in the use of the Prayer Book thus recognized by the Bishops and the General Convention, there is also the prescriptive right to use extemporaneous prayer *after* a sermon or lecture; a right, however, that, as is believed, is seldom exercised in any of our dioceses.

There is also, as there should be, an almost unlimited range for devotional music, under the absolute control of the rector. The Bishop of the diocese has also the right, for any reason satisfactory to him, to prepare forms of prayer for extraordinary occasions, and require the use of them by his clergy. There has been some discussion recently as to the right of a minister to meet by extemporaneous prayer, or appropriate devotional forms, unexpected emergencies that are wholly unprovided for in our established forms of prayer; such, for instance, as the assassination of the President, or the Chicago fire. This, it will be

observed, is *exclusively a matter between the minister and his Bishop*, to whom the Church has entrusted the duty of providing forms of prayer for extraordinary occasions ; and if, not having time to consult his Bishop, a minister, under such circumstances, should adopt such devotional forms or exercises as he shall deem most appropriate, and such as he shall suppose will meet the approval of his superior, he would manifest, in so doing, a higher sense of duty and a truer loyalty than by refusing to act at all, simply for the reason that he could not consult his Bishop, who, having full authority in the premises, may always be presumed to approve of an honest effort to anticipate his wishes and instructions. It will thus be seen that, in the judgment of some of our wisest leaders, there is already a wide liberty in the use of the Prayer Book, and that its forms may legally and properly be adapted to peculiar circumstances as they arise. If in addition the minister were to have authority, when the evening congregation is substantially the same as in the morning, in order to avoid repetition, to begin the evening service with the Lord's Prayer preceded by music, at his discretion ; and if he were also accorded a much larger liberty than at present in making selections from the Psalter, all reasonable demand for flexibility of use of the Prayer Book would seem to be satisfied.

The action of the General Convention of 1880 in relation to shortened services was unsatisfactory to a majority of the body, but was accepted on the ground that it would be better, after so long a delay, to adopt the proposed plan of relief at once and remedy its defects hereafter, than to reject it and postpone to an indefinite period the whole subject of shortened services. The House of Deputies, by a decisive majority, expressed its judgment that there should be in this action no restriction whatever upon the right of a minister to use extemporaneous prayer *after* a sermon or lecture, and so amended the proposed enactment, but, in deference to the House of Bishops, yielded the point for the time being, rather than postpone all action indefinitely. The

fact that the Committee on the Prayer Book would necessarily have cognizance of the matter, with ample time for deliberation and for perfecting the necessary legislation, was not probably, in the haste and confusion of the final action, properly appreciated; but, at all events, it seems clear, on fuller consideration, that the Committee ought to be able to present a satisfactory solution of the problem of shortened services without disturbing the Ratification of 1789, or curtailing the rights of the clergy while professing to enlarge them.

By usage, both in England and this country, extemporaneous prayer is deemed admissible *after* a sermon or lecture, for the purpose of meeting the demands of any special occasion, or of the sermon or lecture, and such liberty, however rarely exercised, should undoubtedly remain intact. But extemporaneous prayer in public worship is not, as a general rule, either in whole or in part, acceptable to the Church. She demands that her worship shall be strictly liturgical; that her prayer shall be common prayer; that the congregation shall pray, rather than listen to a person who is praying; and that the Church shall not be at the mercy of men who may attempt to improve upon her services. Our Common Prayer is not an intellectual product merely, but a growth. It has grown out of the experience, needs, sufferings, devotions of more than fifty generations of believers, and it must continue thus to grow. Congregations of worshipers are never weary of it; and the only demand that comes up from the Church at large is, that, with greater flexibility of use, we shall seek to make richer and more beautiful that which is wonderfully rich and beautiful as it is. We believe that liturgical worship, while less sensational, is more practical than other modes, goes down deeper into the life, is more thoroughly educational, and tends more to build up and consolidate Christian character. As a Church, we distrust the emotional, the metaphysical, the technical, the sensational in worship, and rely very much upon the practical. We believe that we owe to our

Liturgy the fact that, as a general rule, families remain in the Church permanently, from generation to generation; which can hardly be said of any Church without a liturgy.

As to the enrichment of the Prayer Book, there seems to be a general demand for the restoration to the evening service of the Magnificat and the Nunc Dimittis, the use of which, in the worship of the Church, reaches back almost to Apostolic times. The beautiful third collect, for aid against all perils, which is found in the Evening Service of the English Prayer Book, but was strangely omitted from our own, should also be restored to us as an alternate.

Occasional prayers are also needed for Missions, for State Legislatures and Governments, as was recommended by Bishop Seabury, for the dependent classes who are under public care, of whom the Church is bound to take special oversight, both for her own sake as well as theirs, and for other special objects that experience may have indicated.

Additional collects are also desirable, of which it is believed a considerable number may be found, suited to the character of the Prayer Book, and adding to its resources, without in the slightest degree lowering the dignity and solemnity of its devotional forms. What, for instance, can be finer or more impressive than the following, taken from the Accession Service of the English Prayer Book, with a slight modification?

“O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace; take away all hatred and prejudice and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord; that, as there is but one body, and one spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

Taking then the suggestions of the Bishops in the report referred to as a basis, with a few additional changes speci-

fied, we shall have by way of increased flexibility in the use of the Prayer Book and its enrichment as follows :

1. The right of the minister, at all times, to treat the Morning Prayer, Litany and Communion Service as distinct and independent offices ; and to use one or more of them at his discretion.

2. For special and extraordinary services, and for Morning and Evening Prayer on all other days than Sunday and days specified, the right of the minister to use such Scripture lessons, and such collects and prayers from the Prayer Book, and before sermon or lecture, if there be one, as may be deemed by him for edification.

3. The right, at his discretion, to begin the Evening Service with the Lord's Prayer.

4. The Magnificat and the Nunc Dimittis, and the third collect against all perils in the Evening Service of the English Prayer Book, as alternates.

5. Larger liberty in the use of the Psalter.

6. Special prayers for Missions, and for other interests and objects that experience may have indicated.

7. Additional collects to be provided.

8. The right to use extemporaneous prayer after sermon or lecture, as far as it now exists, to remain unchanged.

9. The control of the music to remain with the rector, with the largest liberty so far as matters of mere taste are concerned.

10. The right of the minister in emergencies to use appropriate devotional exercises or forms, in the absence of instructions from the Bishop.

11. These, with the authority of the Bishop to furnish from time to time, for extraordinary occasions, such forms of devotion as he may deem appropriate, would seem to meet present demands in relation to flexibility of use and enrichment of the Prayer Book ; and this power in the Bishops, if wisely exercised, may perhaps be ample for meeting all the necessities of the future for new devotional forms.

An alternate Marriage Service may be desirable, for the

reasons given by Dr. Dix, and manifest errors, such as Dr. Huntington refers to, should be corrected, and the size of the book kept within due limits; as to which there need be no difficulty. In order to quiet all doubts, the changes to be made should be sanctioned by appropriate legislation, and should be merely tentative, until the mind of the Church shall have been clearly indicated in regard to them; and not until then should they be bound up with and become a part of the Prayer Book.

If, in addition to what has been suggested, the Lectionary and Hymnal shall be somewhat improved, we may reasonably hope that the public worship of the Church will be made more attractive, while losing none of its dignity, beauty or force. As a mere educational process, the training which that worship gives in an ordinary lifetime is of priceless value. It makes the worshiper familiar with the scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments, and especially with the Psalms, which are so constantly read and sung by the congregation, while the key-note of the Prayer Book is found in the first lesson which it teaches our children to remember, "that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him."

Several points have been discussed by gentlemen who have preceded me in this friendly conference that, while not, perhaps, strictly pertinent, may fairly be regarded as incidentally involved in the work of the Committee on the Prayer Book, and seem to call for some notice.

A difference of opinion has been expressed as to the attitude of the Church towards dogma, outside of the authorized creeds. That there are such dogmas there is no doubt, and that they are found in the Prayer Book; but I do not understand that the scope and meaning of them are arbitrarily fixed by the Church, or that her mode of teaching them is by menace. In reference to the meaning of dogmatic statements, I know of no such relation as that of submission on the part of the people, and authority on the part

of the Bishops and clergy, whose judgment is undoubtedly entitled to great weight, but whose mission is to instruct and aid men in the search after truth, and not, by dictation, to forbid such search. The Church follows the method of her Lord, in appealing to the enlightened judgment of men, and to their intuitive perception of truth when presented. He never demanded of any man "the surrender of his intellect," but, on the contrary, the consecration of all its powers to His service, in active duty, is what the intellect is made for. Were this not so, we should indeed be in an evil case, with high and low churchmen, and many intervening grades of churchmanship, differing widely in doctrine, and yet each and all historically entitled to their places in the Church. The doctrine of infallibility and passive obedience is, with us, impracticable as well as inadmissible.

The Bishop of Long Island, in a very able article entitled "Christian Dogma Essential," published in the January number of this Review for 1882, speaking of the historic creeds, says:

"They reflect now, as they did ages ago, the immutable needs of man, in the deepest realm of his being. If they ever held sway over the human mind, it was because of the divine and eternal truths which they embodied, and not because of their verbal form or technical structure."

He says further, "The doing of God's will is the only key to His doctrine of salvation. As through the intelligence this doctrine passes down into the heart, so back through the crucible of the will and the affections it must go, if it is to be securely seated in the heights of intelligence."

"Doctrine and duty, truth and action, faith and morals, what we believe and what we do as members of Christ's body, are but different sides of the same divine message, the same divine life."

"The intrinsic power and dignity of Christian dogma, as well as its practical grasp of the human mind, lie in the fact that it speaks definitely and positively, and with due regard for all the elements involved, on questions which reason can

discuss, but can never settle. These questions have an intellectual as well as a moral and spiritual side. On the former side, dogma must conform its explanations and apologies to the shifting requirements of each generation; on the latter, it need not, it cannot change. Thus it is possible for Christian dogma to be ever the same in its continuous witness, and yet to be ever intellectually fresh, ever abreast of the crises arising either from the mere fluctuations or from the actual progress of human thought."

"And sad indeed will it be for the Church if she do not find herself fully armed for such a crisis, both by her firm grasp of the dogmatic verities of Revelation, and by the disciplined intellectual vigor needed for their rational treatment and luminous exposition."

The fact that the Church, in explaining her dogmas, must appeal to the intellect and consciences of men, and not to their fears, is fully recognized in the article referred to, as well as in the history of the American Church. The Athanasian Creed was wisely omitted from our Prayer Book, for the reason that it sought to *drive* men into certain curiously framed logical and metaphysical definitions, instead of *leading* them into the simple truths of the Apostles' Creed.

Such is the teaching of the Church, that the spiritual is always the practical, the way, the truth, and the life are one, and Christian truth is Christian life. The horizon of truth is widened and the spiritual vision wonderfully clarified by a holy life; but each man must, at last, come to his own conclusions, untrammelled by dictation, and relying on all the helps within his reach; and it is difficult to see how a faith that lacks this quality of freedom, and is a matter of compulsion, can have any moral significance. In the Baptismal Service, the question "Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works," etc., comes first; and then the question "Dost thou believe," etc.; and this is the order in which genuine Christian faith always manifests itself; this is the method which the Church adopts, as that of the spirit of truth, leading men into all truth. It is a very

different thing from a theology of proof-texts, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men; and the Church seems to regard accurate and well-defined theological views as valuable, just in proportion as they are practical, and show as their fruits holy and useful lives.

The main object of our liturgy, aside from the creeds, is devotion; and its doctrinal teaching is usually incidental, and therefore lacks the distinctness of definition and clearness of statement that a dogma of faith for the Universal Church demands. The definitions referred to by Mr. McCrady of South Carolina, in the last General Convention, that are found in the invocations in the Litany to God, the Holy Ghost, as "proceeding from the Father and the Son," and to the Trinity as "three persons and one God," constituted no part of the ancient Litany of the Church, as known down to a comparatively recent period. The petitions before the change were, "*Spiritus Sancte Deus, miserere nobis,*" and "*Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis;*" the exact doctrinal definitions were left to the creeds, as being somewhat out of place when addressing the Deity in prayer.

Bishop Hobart saw the danger of stating in the liturgy outside of the creeds, propositions about which Christian men differ and have a right to differ; and for this reason proposed as early as 1826, by a prayer framed for the Confirmation office, to relieve the term "regeneration" in the Baptismal office from the suspicion of confounding the distinction between the Baptism of Regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; and there can be little doubt that, had he accomplished this object, the secession of the Reformed Episcopal Church, so called, which we all regret, would have been avoided.

The Committee on the Prayer Book has, however, nothing to do with these questions of doctrine further than to see that in its recommendation no special views are emphasized, in devotional forms designed for the use of the whole Church.

The true principle of our public worship seems to be, that prayer and praise and preaching, and the Lord's Supper, are all of divine command, and all essential to true Christian worship, and that neither can safely be dispensed with, and neither is central, in the sense of superiority, throwing the others or either of them into the background.

In relation to dress and mere ceremonial and ornamentation there should be a wide discretion, in order to meet the reasonable wishes and diversity of tastes of congregations and ministers, simply maintaining substantial uniformity, and protecting the Church from follies and excesses. If on the ground of comfort, convenience, or even taste, the clergy shall generally desire a change in the law regulating the dress of ministers in public worship, there would, I presume, be no serious objection to such change. If, however, it is asked for simply on the ground of reverence for mediæval usage, the suggestion will be as unintelligible to the American Church, and as unsatisfactory, as would be to the country at large a proposition to go back to the ruffles, dress and etiquette of the court of Henry VIII. in the President's receptions at Washington.

We claim that we are a branch of the Universal Church, but we differ somewhat as to the precise test of membership in that body. We admit that the historic churches, the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, the Anglo-American Church, belong to it; but how is it with these religious organizations that date their origin at or since the reformation? It is said by high authority, in reference to the distinction between the two Prayer Books of Edward VI., that "the great doctrinal alteration" made by the second book "referred to the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. In the book of 1549, the Communion Service had been so constructed as to be consistent with the belief of a real, and perhaps a substantial and corporal, presence. But the alterations in 1552 were such as to authorize and foster the belief that the consecrated elements had no new virtues imparted to them, and that Christ was

present in the Eucharist in no other manner than as He is ever present to the prayers of the faithful. The pale of Church communion was thus enlarged for the more earnest reformers, but closed against the slightest leaning to medieval doctrine." *

There can be no doubt that, so far as doctrinal standards and the philosophy of the Christian life are concerned, we are more closely in sympathy with the great Protestant Churches about us than with the Church of Rome ; and if substance is to govern rather than form, theological and spiritual relations rather than ecclesiastical, it would seem that we might well broaden our views, and treat them all as within the wide dominion of the Universal Church, visible and invisible. In the Father's house on earth, as in heaven, there must be mansions for good men of every name who believe in their hearts, and openly profess, their faith in the great facts of Christianity embodied in our creeds, and earnestly endeavor, by God's help, to live the Christian life. The differences that separate us from them are melting away, and must soon substantially disappear if we shall prove true to the Protestant character of our Prayer Book. This Book is already universally adopted in the Army and Navy ; and the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, *Te Deum*, *Gloria in Excelsis*, Burial Service, Marriage Service, selections from the collects and responsive services are not infrequently used by our neighbors ; while the fasts and festivals of the Church, Christmas, Easter, Good Friday and Lent, are generally more or less observed by these brethren, who are beginning to understand that historically the Prayer Book is theirs as well as ours. The fact that the American Church is the only Church on the face of the earth that, resting upon the one admitted ancient creed, as the Faith once delivered to the *Saints*, unites law and order with perfect freedom of opinion, is gradually doing its work.

Bishop Harris has wisely said that "this country, if not

*Procter, On the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 33, 34.

this age, is intensely intolerant of mediævalism." I cannot agree with Dr. Dix that "religion has nothing to do with secular progress or political change;" and that "lucifer matches, express trains, telegraphs, electric lights, telephones, world's fairs, congresses of the nations, war-drums of the world, trades-unions, socialism, scientific discoveries, cannot possibly be brought in as elements of the old Gospel." There is and can be no stage of progress and civilization to which Christianity is not precisely adapted, thus showing conclusively its divine origin, and it is adequate to the work of transmuting all these worldly energies and influences into divine instrumentalities for the benefit of mankind; the main business of the Church in this country, and its bounden duty, is to accomplish this work; but it is a very different matter from the monastic worship of mediævalism, and cannot be done by machinery. Whatever the sins and dangers of this age may be, and whatever its lack of reverence, it is the age in which we live, and with which we have to do; and if the Church was made for man, and not man for the Church, she must grapple with these difficulties and overcome them; and she cannot shirk the responsibility, and is not seeking to do so.

This Church is beginning to be felt as a power in the land. Indirectly she acts upon politics, the legislation and administration of the government, upon official, professional and business life. But her direct influence is still greater. She fixes and maintains in her creeds the standards of doctrine towards which the religious mind of the country is all tending, sustains the dignity and solemnity of public worship, teaches the true training of children, makes herself felt for good in literature and the press, and in forming public sentiment, inculcates neatness, order, moderation, obedience to law, temperance and pure morals, and in our large cities is a standing rebuke to vice and lawlessness, and the friend of the poor. She teaches the true uses and meaning of wealth, sustains the cause of education, encourages honesty and integrity public and private, and elevates social

life. Her Missionary Bishops are dealing with vast problems: the consecration of gigantic "godless wealth," and the religious teaching of all classes, business men, miners, railroad men, and the immense agricultural and manufacturing populations that are covering the face of the land, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. She is showing that she is not, as has been said, exclusively the Church of the rich and poor, but that her principal work is and is to be among the great middle class that holds in its hands the destinies of the nation: not a proselytizing Church, estimating her value by her numbers; but a standing witness of divine truth, a leavening influence that gives tone and character to the national life, lifts men up towards Him who is King of Nations as well as King of Saints.

To weaken the confidence of the people of the United States in this Church would be a great calamity. But it can be done, and in order to do it thoroughly we have only to show that we are ashamed of Protestantism, identified as it is, in the national convictions, with political, civil and religious liberty; ashamed of our name, the Protestant Episcopal Church; ashamed of our martyrs, who died in defence of those principles of perfect freedom, freedom of mind, freedom of conscience, that are embodied in our Protestant Prayer Book.

In these confidential talks with friends, we speak our minds freely, knowing that the object we all have in view is simply the truth, and that each is doing his best to find it. Let us be thankful that, much as we may differ in opinion, the Church is large enough to give us all a home; and that we can discuss the things that pertain to her interests not only with mutual respect and courtesy, but as brethren; conscious that we are in a world of shadows that perplex and sometimes blind us,

"And waiting for the golden morn to rise."

JOHN W. ANDREWS



REASON AND AUTHORITY IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

THE general temper of our age, as all will admit, I think, is one of scepticism and distrust of all things that do not come under the immediate personal observation and experience of mankind. With this general disposition, however, it is not my purpose to deal in the present article, except in a very limited way, and in reference to some things that more especially concern those who have so far overcome it as to accept the doctrine of the existence of a Personal First Cause and Moral Governor of all things, and the reality of a Revelation from Him, which is contained and expressed in the Bible, who are, therefore, ready to acknowledge the Bible to be the Word of God, and the final authority in all matters of faith concerning which it speaks.

Among these, there are those who claim for the Bible *alone* authority, although in so doing they claim, and of necessity use, reason as a guide in interpreting the Bible. There are others who would recognize the Church as an *authority* in matters of faith and dogma to such an extent as to regard any doctrine which the Church has adjudicated as

settled beyond any further right of controversy. They are content to rest on the authority of the Church as a teacher and guide, so far at least as she undertakes to teach and to guide them.

But in any case, and to all men alike, there arise certain questions to be settled before any deductions or inferences by way of dogma can be made.

Always there is a question of various readings, and as to which is the true reading, so that we can be sure we have exactly the words our Lord and His Apostles used. Of these "various readings," as all persons now know, there are many thousands—most of them of no importance, doctrinal or otherwise; but some of them are of too much importance to be neglected.

And when we come to consider the *meaning* of the words, the question becomes more serious and much more difficult. The important words in all languages have had a history, with a change of meaning in successive stages. In the Bible, moreover, we meet with new thoughts—new wine to be put into old bottles, and inevitably the bottles would be somewhat changed thereby. In the words of Prof. Sayce, "the Founder of a Religion, however great he may be, however much, as his disciples believe, a prophet of God, or even God Himself, has yet to deal with men. He must work upon the ideas current in his age, and though he may give them a fresh direction, still their comprehension and carrying out will be limited by the intellectual knowledge of the recipients. And as this will vary from generation to generation, so will the ideas themselves vary and catch the color of each succeeding century."—*Comp. Philology*, p. 344.

We might select at random words that would illustrate this truth. We all know that "*lunacy*" once meant moon-struck, and denoted at once insanity and assigned its cause. "*Let*" meant "to hinder," now it means "to permit." "*To prevent*" was once "to go before": now it implies an obstacle to going at all.

But other examples reach deeper into our subject. At first the Greek word *ουσία* denoted one's wealth or possessions. It then came to denote the essential nature or characteristic property of any thing; then the substantial thing itself, and finally the substance of a thing as distinct from its properties and underlying them. And it is used in the Nicene Creed in one or the other of the last-named senses; but theologians are not agreed to-day as to which of the two senses was intended when the Holy Fathers declared our Lord to be *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father.

And in fact there is scarcely a disputed doctrine in the theology of the day that does not depend to a large extent on the meaning of the words used by those in authority to express it, in an age when all the thoughts and feelings of men, all their associations, and many, if not most, of the nicer meanings of the words used, were quite unlike those with which we are familiar. And it will frequently turn out, as the result of a careful inquiry, that what we had supposed to be true beyond any reasonable doubt, has come to be accepted purely in consequence of the misapprehension of a word.

Nor is this all. In dealing with the words of Holy Scripture, there is special and great danger of the *fallacy in diction*, known as ambiguous middle, arising from the difficulty of comprehending the subject matter; or, perhaps, I had better say from the incomprehensibility of the matter itself. We are all familiar, perhaps, with the sophism, "What we eat, we buy in the market. But what we buy in the market is raw meat; therefore, we eat raw meat, or we eat our meat raw." This is certainly valid *in form*. But we see the fallacy *in diction* at once, because we can and *do* fully comprehend the subject matter. But in dealing with the profound subjects of theology, the topics in regard to which a revelation is made necessary by our very inability to comprehend them, the case is far otherwise, the difficulty and the danger are immeasurably greater.

Absurd as the example just given is, there is much of

what passes in our day for theological argument based on the words of Holy Scripture that is really, in my estimation, no better. But as examples would be invidious, I forbear to cite any. It is enough, perhaps, to say that when any conclusion is deduced, or any dogma urged that seems absurd or contradictory to reason and the common sense of mankind, it should, at least, *be treated with suspicion* until the most careful scrutiny can be had into the matter.

Take an illustration from Holy Scripture. Our Lord said, on one occasion, "I and my Father are one," and on another, "My Father is greater than I." Of course, I do not suppose there is any real contradiction here, or that the two most solemn declarations cannot be harmonized. But which of them is to be taken as uttered *simpliciter* or unqualifiedly, and which as *secundum quid* or with reference to some particular meaning or application? If we assume the first as *simpliciter*, it is a most unanswerable proof of His Divinity. But if we take the latter in its simple, unqualified sense, it is fully as decisive for the Unitarians. One of the two must be taken in a limited sense, or as if said *secundum quid*. But how shall we decide? Answer the question as we will, we must of necessity come back at last to an assumption or comprehension of the subject of the conversation, and the object in view at the time it was uttered, as the basis of our inference.

But has not revelation many subjects that are above our comprehension? Has it not many important declarations that we must take *on trust* with adoring and submissive faith; declarations to which we must assent, though we do not understand them with that comprehension of their meaning and purpose which would enable us to use them as premises for argumentation? If not, it can hardly be regarded as a revelation at all—hardly anything more than a statement of the doctrines of natural theology, which we might attain unto without the help of a revelation at all.

My object in this statement is no more and no other than

to interpose a caution against that rashness of reasoning which is so fruitful of controversy and gives rise to so much of bigotry and intolerance.

It may be well to reduce the use we must make of reason to its elements, or separate spheres. And here we find, as I think, three distinct fields: 1st, in regard to the exact words which our Lord and his Apostles did actually use; 2d, as to the meaning of the words and the construction of the phrases, as settled by the grammars and lexicons that are available for our use; and, finally, 3d, what and how much of what was said was intended to be taken literally as dogmatic teaching or the assertion of historic fact, and how much and what was intended as parable, or as mere adaptation to the thoughts and beliefs of the age and of the people among and for whom the utterances were made.

But before proceeding to the more general discussion of this subject, let us turn aside for a few moments to consider the nature and scope, and possibly, the limits to Church authority in such matters.

Here, I think, we must make a distinction at the outset between the authority of the Church as a collective body acting in its corporate capacity, and the authority that may attach to opinions of any number of the Christian Fathers expressed separately and in their individual capacity.

In the former sense I have no doubt (there can be no doubt) but that, in the words of the XX. Article, "the Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies and *authority* in controversies of faith." She must be able "to decree Rites and Ceremonies," or there can be no worship or discipline. She must have "authority in matters of faith," or she could never exclude any one for unbelief.

And I regard her authority in such matters, and when exercised for this purpose, as a God-given trust, in such a way and to such an extent that submission to her teachings and deference for her acts, so far as they are within the legitimate scope of her authority, are a part of our duty and submission to God Himself. So high, indeed, is my estima-

tion of the authority of the Church in this respect that I should have about as much hesitation in disregarding it and dissenting from it—from the Nicene Creed, for example—as in dissenting from or rejecting anything that I find in the Bible itself.

We are familiar now with the idea that Christ came in person as God incarnate—that He taught the great doctrines of His religion—appointed a Ministry—instituted two Sacraments, one of admission, and the other of communion and fellowship in His Church. The Scriptures of the New Testament were written afterwards, and are a part of the work which He left for His Apostles to do. Church organization, with many of its rites and much of its doctrine, came of course, and as a necessity.

And of necessity, too much that was done and said is not found in the New Testament, though forming a part of the teachings, worship, and discipline of the early Christians. It is, for one who is willing to receive what was thus done and taught, *as far as we can clearly ascertain what it was*, as though it were contained in the accepted canon of the New Testament. To one who takes this view, the teachings and writings of the early Christian Fathers are of the utmost importance. But it is of importance as *testimony* only, as mere evidence of fact as to what was taught and done. And yet, anything like unanimous consent or agreement must, in such cases, it seems to me, be final. The authority, however, is but historical; it is the authority of witnesses.

With regard to much that we have occasion to speak of and teach, this testimony is decisive. With regard to the authority and authorship of the Books of the New Testament, and the genuineness of its disputed readings, we can hardly have any other authority.

And so, too, with regard to the meaning of the words used, this authority goes a great way. But is it final in all cases?

But the authority of the Church *acting as a body*, a cor-

porate whole, has something more than mere testimony, something of the nature of an *enactment*. It was not testimony only or chiefly: it was *law* rather, for those for whom the Church had power "to decree rites and ceremonies," or "authority in controversies of faith."

And this fact gives to all such acts, canons, creeds, etc., a much graver importance, and an importance, too, of a very different kind from the mere testimony of competent witnesses. Canons and creeds are testimony indeed, but they are more; just as in these days a statute is more than the opinion of any number of jurists, or of legislators even, as to what a law is or should be.

We must remember that the New Testament writers speak of a great many subjects. Some of them are within the knowledge and comprehension of all persons, and some of them are beyond the comprehension of anything short of omniscience.

Now, it seems very obvious—too obvious to require proof or illustration—that there must be recognized a difference between several kinds of subjects in regard to this matter of patristic testimony, and of Church authority as well. What was within the comprehension of all must be regarded as conclusively proved if the testimony is unanimous, or has only such unimportant discrepancies as may be readily accounted for.

Among the subjects of this class are rites and usages, such as Infant Baptism, Sunday worship, prescribed liturgies, a threefold ministry, the rite of Confirmation, and many other things which are of universal interest and applicability, and may be the same for all branches of the Church in all ages.

Another class of topics that could be easily understood were the moral precepts that were taught and insisted upon, in the discipline of the Church, such as temperance, frugality, marriage and its obligations, fasting, prayer, the reading and use of Holy Scripture, and, in fact, nearly everything that one needs to know and follow as a means of holy living.

But with regard to theological doctrines the case becomes somewhat different. Undoubtedly our Lord had occasion to allude to a good many things that His immediate Apostles—the chosen twelve—did not understand *at the time*: this we know from the Bible itself. Many of these things—perhaps all—they came to understand afterwards. But if so, it was in consequence of that fuller inspiration which they received on the day of Pentecost and afterwards. But even so, others were in the same relation to them after this fuller outpouring of the Holy Ghost, as they had been to Christ, before this enlightenment. They must speak and allude to many things which their hearers could not fully comprehend.

Now, in regard to all the topics of this kind, testimony to the exact words they used is of the utmost importance to us. Of great importance, also, is the opinion or testimony of those who heard them and lived in the same age with them, with regard to the meaning they attached to those words, the sense in which they used them. But here comes in the question of comprehension. In talking to one another, we expect those who understand what we are talking about to understand us and to be able to report our views correctly, if not even to repeat our very words. But it is a matter of common experience, and sometimes of very sad experience too, that those who do not fully comprehend us, do, with the very best intention, sadly misrepresent our meaning and misrepresent it only because they had previously misunderstood it.

And so, somewhere between our Lord Himself and the mass of Christian believers in subsequent ages, this element of uncertainty must have come in. Concede to the Apostles, if you please, plenary inspiration, yet the divines next to them, as Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, etc., were not their equals in this respect. And I suppose that very few, if any, would claim even so much as they would concede to these Holy Bishops and Fathers, for those in the next generation, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Irenæus, Lactantius, etc.

Nay, I am sure that on reflection we shall find that we cannot deny that we in this age have in some respects the advantage over those early witnesses for understanding and interpreting the words and teachings of the sacred writers. Just as the Twelve understood very much better after the event our Lord's previous allusions to His death and resurrection, so we after eighteen hundred years are in position to understand some of the things that He and They—the Apostles—said better than the early Fathers did or could have done. Take as examples and illustrations, allusions to "the second coming," "the end of the world," "the man of sin," and such like. Now, although we may not fully understand these passages, we are in a position that prevents our falling into many of the errors that were possible—and perhaps quite natural—in the first centuries. This is in fact but a special application of a doctrine of interpretation which we all accept, namely, that the words in which any prophecy was uttered can be much better understood after the fulfillment of the prediction has become a part of recorded history than it was possible for any one—save only the prophet himself—to understand them before. And perhaps we do not need to except even the prophet himself from this remark, for I think we have abundant proof in the Bible that even the prophets themselves did not always fully understand their own predictions.

And in another direction too I think we have an advantage over the theologians of the early ages. Science has certainly made great advances—and these advances are *discoveries of truth*. And if all truth is harmonious and of God—whatever we gain of it in any direction, is a help to some extent and in some way towards the better understanding of the rest. Every truth we gain sheds a light upon other truths and brings us to a better comprehension of them.

Christianity was designed to introduce, and certainly did introduce, many new elements into the experience of men and the influences that were from that time onward at work

in the control of the history of the world and the development of human civilization. We cannot doubt that our Lord foresaw and fully comprehended all these things. Nor can we doubt that He had these in view in many of the "dark sayings" which He uttered in the hearing of His disciples. What He thus foresaw and foreshadowed has become for us a matter of experience and of history; we cannot doubt that what has thus proved true, was comprehended in the meaning of His words. He meant to ascribe to Baptism as its efficacy its "inward and spiritual part" as I cannot doubt just what the world has found by experience to be its efficacy. Or, as it seems to me, if this efficacy has not been realized in human experience, His predictions and His teachings have failed. We live after nearly eighteen centuries of *experience* in the awakenings of religious feelings under Christian influences, of the renewing influences of Holy Baptism, of the "real presence" in the Holy Eucharist, and it seems fair to assume that what He meant to teach and to promise concerning these things is just what has in reality come to pass in the experience of men, earnest, believing Christian men.

All along this line of progress, however, we have shallow men exclaiming with every new step in advance that here is a contradiction to Christianity—a conflict between Science and Revelation.

But the question recurs, What is the value of the testimony of the Fathers and of Church authority in these matters? So far as mere matters of fact and of morality are concerned, we concede the authority and regard it as final. But in regard to matters of opinion—to mere *speculative* theology—the case is not so easily disposed of. Our Lord did not write a word of the Holy Scriptures. He did not prescribe any creed—in the ordinary sense of the word. Nor did the Apostles agree upon any one that was to be used everywhere before they went forth from Jerusalem to preach the Gospel to all the nations of the earth. The Apostles' Creed, as we now have it, came into existence after that date, and the

Nicene Creed was not matured and set forth until after several generations of Christians had experienced all the blessings of the new birth—the indwelling influences of the Renewing Spirit—and had gone to enjoy a nearer view of the glories of the Divine Nature in heaven.

To illustrate what I mean, take the case of the Nicene Creed and the question of the Divinity of Christ. The Fathers then agreed to call it *οὐσία*. But it is a question with us what did they mean by the word *οὐσία*. It is a question, too, whether they did or did not exceed their authority in declaring the nature of our Lord to be *ὁμοούσιον* with the Father's.

If they meant by the word nothing more than “essence,” “nature,” or “essential nature,” as the philosophers of the age meant by it, they were clearly right and within the scope of their jurisdiction: for upon this depended the deference paid by the Apostles to Christ, the prayers they offered to Him, the efficacy they attributed to His Death, and above all (—perhaps—) the confidence they placed in Him when they went forth to preach the word everywhere.

And more than this: faith in His Divine Nature, *in this sense*, was, and is, essential to a life of piety and obedience. It made Him, in deed, as well as in word—in the profoundest truth and reverence of the heart as well as in the most solemn professions of the lips—what they called Him, LORD. All of Christianity and Christian History from the Annunciation,—through the Birth, Death, and Resurrection,—the faith of the first believers, the holy lives of the converts, and the firmness of the Apostles even to martyrdom, are unmeaning and senseless if our Lord were less, or if they supposed Him to be less than *ὁμοούσιος* with God the Father, in the then prevalent sense of the word *οὐσία*.

But did the Nicene Fathers intend to say that the Son is “*consubstantial*”—of one *substance* with the Father, in our modern sense of the word substance? I think not; and I very much doubt if they had authority to declare any such

dogma. It would have been in fact a philosopheme rather than a doctrine of faith if they had so declared.

We say in the Proper Preface for Christmas Day that Christ was "of the substance of the Virgin Mary His mother;" and this is undoubtedly true in the modern scientific sense of the word. But most assuredly Christ was not "of one substance with the Father" in the same sense of the word "substance." And if it be established that the Nicene Fathers intended to say that He was, I think the modern world, in these days, and in all succeeding ages, will think that the Holy Fathers were wrong in this matter, and went beyond their authority.

We have thus two grave questions in regard to the use and application of Church authority to the disputes and controversies of the day. The first is the same as that which we have considered in regard to the Scriptures themselves. What words did the Fathers use, and what did they mean by them; in what sense did they intend to use those words?

But the second question is a still graver one. Did they in all cases keep within the proper sphere of their authority, and even when within that sphere were they always in the right?

As *law*, their acts, in so far as they were not in obvious conflict with the Holy Scriptures, were undoubtedly binding on the conscience of all who were then, or are now, living under their jurisdiction. We call the Council of Nice General or Universal, intending thereby to indicate that its authority and jurisdiction were coextensive with the whole Church. But there had been before that time, as there have been since, many Councils of a limited or provincial authority, whose acts and determinations have never been regarded as of binding force beyond the limits of the Province in which or for which they were held.

I suppose it will be conceded by all that there are subjects on which such Councils, whether General or Provincial,

have no right to legislate or take any action at all. And I think we must admit that there are subjects on which they have the right to take action, and where duty may even compel them to take some action, in regard to which, nevertheless, they may exceed their authority, and quite possibly declare as truth what may after all be finally adjudged to be error. Did not the Romish Church come very near such a thing when it condemned the Copernican theory? And is there any doubt that if either of the General Councils had undertaken to express any opinion or give any decision on that subject, they would have been as far from the truth as were the Romish ecclesiastics of the sixteenth century?

Any fact once discovered and fully admitted is final in its direction, and controlling in its influence. All theories, all systems of philosophy, and all creeds must sooner or later yield and be conformed to it, or they will be left with the ever decreasing few that adhere to them, in the past, switched off, as it were, by the wayside in the onward progress of history and of humanity.

But then we have a lesson of humiliation here also. What I have said of facts is true of facts only, and not at all of mere theories and hypotheses. Man at best is quite too apt to err, to allow us to attach much importance to mere theories. Like the dogmas of theology, they often require an intelligence that is quite supernatural for their basis, to give them much right to demand any change in the opinions we have already adopted and found useful.

But let us now return to the topic from which we have somewhat wandered, and consider the application of the principle to Holy Scripture.

Much of our Lord's teaching, as we all know, was in the form of "parables." And He has given us His reason for using this mode of teaching. It was because those whom He addressed were not able to understand His instructions when given in their general abstract form. We accept

these sayings as parables, and seek in them for moral and spiritual truths, and not for history or scientific fact.

But besides those narratives in the form of history *which are declared to be parables*, there are others which are nowhere declared to be parables, which nevertheless the whole body of Christian believers and Christian interpreters have agreed in regarding as only parables. Take the two cases of "the Prodigal Son" and "the Rich Man and Lazarus." I am not aware that they are called parables anywhere in the Bible; and yet everybody regards them as such, and we freely speak of them as the "*parables*" of the Prodigal Son, etc.

Now the question will naturally arise whether there may not be other passages written in the form of history which we are to regard as parables rather than statements of historic fact.

But there remains the still more difficult class of cases in which the question must occur in regard to the extent to which language is used by way of accommodation to prevailing notions and theories without at all intending to accept or inculcate them as true.

A few hundred years ago this question had, apparently, occurred to only a few, if any, of the thinkers of the age; and its suggestion might have been attended with danger. But the controversy with regard to the Copernican system, having been settled in favor of that system, has compelled us to admit and recognize the principle of interpretation alluded to. And it has led to the general proposition that in many cases the sacred writers must be understood as using the common phraseology of their day without being held to have inculcated what that phraseology, when taken literally, obviously means or implies, or was then understood to teach. The phraseology just referred to with regard to the stability of the earth and the motions of the heavenly bodies is one case in point.

I proceed to cite another case—which is yet, to some extent, under discussion. I refer to the cases of "*demoniacal*

possessions," as they are called, which are so frequently spoken of in the New Testament. There are many who hold that these were only ordinary cases of epilepsy or insanity, and that our Lord and His Apostles, in speaking of them, used the prevailing forms of expression in speaking of such cases, but must in no wise be held to have taught or believed the theory of those diseases which was held by the common people of that age.

I do not propose to *discuss* this question. I cite it only as an example, and will add the further remark that the tendency of opinion in this age is undoubtedly in the direction of what may perhaps be properly called "the rationalistic" interpretation.

One can readily see the wide reach of this principle of interpretation where it has once been admitted and put into operation. But it cannot be denied or repudiated altogether. The most we can do, and all that we can do, so far as I can see, is to guard against its *misuse*, and the carrying it too far. It *may* be so applied as to eliminate from the Bible *all* that is supernatural, and reduce all of its sacred contents to a mere poetic assertion of the truths and principles of Natural Religion. This would take from it its character and claim to be a Revelation in any proper sense. It would deprive it of its *authority* as from God, relieve us from all sense of obligation, and take from us all reasons of confidence and all grounds for a hope in forgiveness and Divine aid. We should thus make Christianity a mere system of philosophy, and perhaps not the most acceptable system at that.

It is easy to see and to say that this is a very dangerous principle, and that no one can see to what it may not lead if it is once admitted. But this is no effectual answer. Whatever can be defended *will* be admitted and maintained by some persons, and whatever is true *should* be admitted by all. There is nothing so dangerous but that it has its use, nevertheless. Cautious men will hold themselves in reserve; rash men will be headlong and reckless; wise men will set

themselves to find out the exact nature and extent of the principle, and do all that can be done in any way to guard against its misuse, by providing for its appropriate application and use.

I have already indicated several topics in regard to which we should exercise great caution in the application of our Logic to the text of Holy Scripture. These would include all those that are the most profound, the most incomprehensible, because the most remote from our ordinary experience and powers of comprehension. They include in fact all the great mysteries of redemption, the incarnation, the regeneration of the soul, the atonement, the nature of the indwelling spirit and of the real presence in the Holy Eucharist. They are beyond comprehension and therefore, to a large extent, beyond the proper sphere of reasoning. The proper sphere of Logic includes only those subjects that are within the range of our powers of thorough comprehension, and where we can define, accurately and adequately, all the terms we have occasion to use. In mathematics fallacies of diction can hardly occur, and we never feel the necessity to be on the lookout for them. But the moment we step outside of the pure mathematics we encounter danger, and we feel or ought to feel the need of constant watchfulness. But in the domain of theology where we have to deal with the statements of those who were raised above us by a supernatural inspiration, even if they were not so plenarily inspired as to become infallible, the danger of fallacies of this kind becomes so great as to justly call for the utmost caution and diffidence, even if it should not compel us to abstain altogether.

These remarks apply more especially to what is called dogmatic theology, in which the effort is made to deduce specific, formal statements of doctrine, and to complete systems of theology, from texts of Holy Scripture by way of logical inference. Doubtless much strength is given to each doctrine or dogma by its harmony and symmetry with the rest, constituting what is called "the analogy of faith."

But there is, as I have endeavored to show, always and unavoidably, an element of uncertainty in all such reasonings; and there is, moreover, at times at least, ground for very grave doubt as to the expediency of teaching or insisting upon their results.

But there is another topic that deserves a passing notice, and that is the assumption that everything that appears in didactic or historic form was intended to be taken literally as dogmatic statement or historic fact. I have already alluded to the case of what are called "the demoniacal possessions" spoken of in the New Testament; there is, however, another class of cases, more difficult than those and requiring if possible a much more delicate and cautious handling.

Everybody is familiar, in a general way, with the fact that certain predictions in the Old Testament had been misunderstood and were used by many Jews in our Lord's time as arguments against accepting Him on the ground that He did not answer the descriptions given beforehand by the Prophets of the coming Messiah. But there is a case that is much more interesting (to my mind), more instructive still. The Prophet Malachi closes the Old Testament with these very striking and impressive words: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers; lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." It was "*Elijah the Prophet*" that was to come; and the Jews so understood it. This expectation is alluded to in the Gospels several times. But in Matt. xvii. 10, and following, we have a very significant remark of our Lord's in regard to it. "And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered them and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come and restore all things. But I say unto you that *Elias is come already*, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed. . . . Then the disciples understood that he spoke unto them of John the Baptist." And in xi. 14, the

same evangelist ascribes to our Lord these words: "And if ye will receive it, this—'John the Baptist'—is Elias which was to come." It appears, then, that John the Baptist was the Elijah that was foretold by the Prophets. But who so understood it until our Lord so explained it?

I do not propose to analyze this case and find the controlling principles that govern it, or rather that are implied in it. But doubtless there are such principles; and when they are found, they will be applied to similar cases; and they may give us interpretations as unexpected by us as this of our Lord's was to the Jews of His time.

I will allude to only one case more, and that is the personality of the principle of evil. Most Christians believe in the personality of the Devil as truly as they believe in the personality of God. But there are others whose learning and zeal for true orthodoxy cannot be questioned, who doubt or deny it.

We are making progress in the knowledge of man's moral and intellectual nature, as well as in the philosophy of regeneration and sanctification. The time may come—in view of the past it is certainly possible—when all Christians will agree that the language that was used in the Holy Scriptures, which has been thought to teach, or at least necessarily to imply, the existence of a personal devil was only a device—a rhetorical expedient—resorted to as the most effectual, if not the only, means of putting believers into an attitude of sufficient watchfulness, and the use of suitable precautions against temptation,—a time may come, I say, when men will say "Every man is tempted when he is drawn away by *his own lusts* and enticed," and this, if ye will receive it, is the only Tempter ye have to contend against.

The tendency of what I have said has been, as I trust, influential in a twofold direction: *first*, to increase our confidence in the fundamental facts of Revelation, as stated in the Apostles' Creed, and our confidence in the guidance and instructions of that branch of the Catholic Church of

Christ in which it has been our lot to be born, baptized, and nurtured; and, *secondly*, to inspire a caution and distrust in all deductions and speculations in regard to matters beyond the mere facts clearly stated in the Bible, and the rules and directions given by the Church, following the Bible as her guide and authority, in all such things. Beyond this limit there is danger—danger both to our own spiritual welfare and to the salvation of the souls of others.

It is a solemn and a warning fact that among the chief hindrances to the acceptance of our Lord—in His day—were the inferences and deductions derived from, and the false interpretations put upon, the words and text, the facts and declarations of the Old Testament. This—the sin and the offence of the Scribes and Pharisees—was a greater hindrance, a more insuperable stumbling-block, than the wickedness of the publicans, of the worldliness and scepticism of the Sadducees.

Can there be any doubt that a like cause will produce a like effect in our day? Say what we will of the “evil heart of unbelief,” the blinding influence of worldliness and Mammon worship, of the delusions of philosophy, and the self-conceit of science, “falsely so called” or not, there can be no doubt but that if we of the clergy—we, the teachers and guides *in the Church*, do, in any way or to any extent, err in the same direction as the Scribes and Pharisees of our Lord’s time had done, we shall, like them, be putting a stumbling-block, an unnecessary obstacle and offence, in the way of the acceptance of the only means of hope and salvation—“the only name given under heaven” whereby men can be saved. But these very men, whether it be the worldly-minded, the sin-hardened, those that are misled by philosophic speculations, or puffed up by the conceits of science, are those whom it is our duty and should be, in some sense, our special aim to bring to a true knowledge of God and the way of salvation through His Christ.

I do not mean to suggest for a moment that anything can be gained by a concession of the truth. But I do mean

to suggest that we may mistake, and hold for truth, and as *de fide*, what may possibly turn out after all to be but our own "traditions," by which it is possible even to make the "commandments of God of none effect." Superstition and excessive or unreasonable dogmatism within the Church are, and ever have been, whenever and wherever they have been found within the Church, as truly an obstacle to the spread of the Gospel and the proper reception of the truth as the wicked heart of unbelief, the delusions of philosophy, or the assumptions of science without its pale. For those who are as yet unbelievers there must be a growth "*in knowledge*" as well as "*in grace*;" and he who begins by believing only the simplest *facts* of the Gospel will "go on to know," to believe and to understand, to *apprehend* and to *comprehend*, "things of the spirit" which at first were but "foolishness" unto him.

Nor can we set any limits to this growth. Most certainly, I would not intimate that there are any. I see no reason why that progress in the knowledge and comprehension of divine things of which we see so much and so many examples here may not go on indefinitely hereafter. Whatever is revealed is truth, and is incomprehensible to us only because we cannot now comprehend it, is not in itself incomprehensible. Much, therefore, may seem clear, well founded, and comprehensible to a mature Christian—and justly so—which, however, cannot be brought within the grasp of the beginner in the knowledge of Divine things; the experience of the immediate Disciples—and even of the chosen Apostles of our Lord—must be in some respect and to some extent the experience of all thoughtful believers. What is thus manifestly begun here may go on, for aught we know, in the same way and by similar means forever hereafter.

W. D. WILSON.

THE FINANCIAL QUESTION IN THE CHURCH.

FOR a number of years an agitation has been in progress for the avowed purpose of abolishing Pew-rents in all Churches. So far all the seeming argument, certainly all the rhetoric and eloquence, have been on one side of this question. The advocates of this change have had it all their own way in newspapers and pamphlets. The only answer to these persistent appeals, that I have seen, has been the practical good sense of Congregations and Vestries adhering to Pew-rents, as the most effective and the fairest method of obtaining the income necessary for the maintenance of a Church in any city or large town. The present Bishop of Ohio was the first public man who ventured by a few strong, searching, and suggestive questions to meet the torrent of invective incessantly hurled against what is called the Pew system. These were addressed, I believe, to his Convention. Perhaps I may be pardoned for presuming to offer a few thoughts in the same direction with those of my much loved friend Bishop Bedell. What I have to say applies to the Church and to society in America exclusively. They

are not intended for the endowed or State-supported Churches of England or of the Continent of Europe.

And first, I must confess that for a good while I was carried away by the plausible clamor for "free and open Churches." I thought with these advocates that this was surely the normal condition of Christ's Church, and that, although the exigencies of the present situation required that this abuse should be tolerated, yet the time was fast coming when the beautiful ideal of these fervid enthusiasts would be realized. Observation, experience, and reflection have convinced me that the time for the realization of such an ideal must be postponed to that millennial age when all people will be all that the Christian religion tries to make them. Until then, while so many, including the best of God's people, are "of the earth, earthy," we must be content that the Church on its human side, as a secular body, requiring to be sustained and administered like those other Divine institutions, the Family and the State, by purely financial arrangements, shall be conducted on sound business principles. The question, as in the instance of a Civil Government, just referred to, resolves itself into this: How most effectually and in the easiest way, with the least friction, and with the least possible injury to any one, to raise the income absolutely demanded by the exigencies of the Church. The Divine ordinance requires that the Church shall be maintained in the world as a practical agency for the education and salvation of the world. Another Divine ordinance commands that the State shall be organized and Civil Government maintained, for securing to men other provisions of God's beneficence. In both these cases alike an income, and a financial arrangement for the production of that income, are imperatively demanded.

By the Divine Constitution of the Church every one of the redeemed, receiving and embracing the Gospel, is a responsible agent in the establishment and maintenance of those integral parts of the Church known as the Diocese, and the Parish, or Congregation. Like the other Divine

institutions for the benefit of mankind, the Family and the State, the Church requires for its existence and its work a material and financial provision. For each there is a constant outgoing of expenditure; and for each there must of necessity be a constant incoming of the means to meet this expenditure.

A Family cannot subsist without an income derived from labor or from capital. A State cannot live and do its work without the income derived from taxation.

And a State is not the less free because all its citizens are the subjects of this taxation; or because each member of the body politic has to pay for the land he cultivates, and for the house he lives in. So precisely with the Church. On its human side, having needs and requirements, like all human and Divine institutions designed for the use of men, it is subject to all the laws and conditions of these varied institutions. In the State, the constantly recurring problem is, how to distribute the requisite taxation so as to produce the least friction and the nearest approach to equality.

The obligation to provide for the Church this required income is laid upon the redeemed, as such, without respect of person, condition, or estate. There is no privileged class, no exemption from this obligation in the Church of God. The very essence of salvation—the nurture of love, the suppression of selfishness—vindicates the Divine wisdom in making this obligation universal. The value and preciousness of the benefits bestowed upon men by the Gospel are inseparably bound up with the cost and self-sacrifice demanded by the effort to maintain and propagate the Gospel. We may, and we ought to send that Gospel as a free gift to the Heathen, at home and abroad. But the moment that a Heathen man or woman receives the gift, and becomes a member of the kingdom, the obligation attaches, as a part of the grace received, to provide for the continuance of these blessings, and for sending them to other heathen. This is the self-adjusting principle of the continuity and perpetuity of the Church and of the Gospel.

Although the obligation of supporting the ministrations of the Gospel and the fabric of the Church is thus impartially imposed upon every one of the redeemed, yet the same Divine ordinance distributes the burden of this obligation in consonance with the distribution of wealth, capacity, and opportunity, by the workings of Providence in the world and in society. The equalizing law of distribution is, "If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little." The problem to be solved is—How is the burden bound upon all to be most equitably and fairly distributed?

A long and anxious consideration of the subject has satisfied me that this distribution of the necessary expenses of the Gospel is made most equitably, and with less friction, by the system of rented pews than by any other method; while several other results are secured very valuable in the right working of a Parish.

These considerations may help us to comprehend more intelligently the vexed issue between the method of raising the required income by rented pews, and the various plans resorted to for raising that income in what are called, I think erroneously, "Free Churches." The income, all agree, must be furnished in some way by those who participate in the ministrations of the Gospel in any particular Church or Congregation. The question is, how can this result be most easily and fairly accomplished? My own long considered judgment is, that for any leading City Church to do effectually the work appointed for it by the Master, there must be rented pews, as a continuing endowment; and as the simplest method of consolidating the actual Congregation into one recognizable body.

It is not in accordance with the spirit or the law of the Gospel, that *any* portion of God's people should receive the helpful ministrations of the Gospel as a pure gratuity from other people. Those who yield to the insidious temptation thus to receive these ministrations lose one of the most important of the established means of grace in the kingdom of

God. The spirit of the Gospel concerning this particular is contained in the command to every one who has come to the knowledge of the truth—"Go work in my vineyard;" and, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat." The law is—"Let every man lay by him in store as God hath prospered him." "If any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth."

This law makes the equality, and distributes the burden and the grace of ministering to the support of the Gospel according to the distribution which God has made of His gifts of Providence. But it leaves no one deprived of the benefit of this remunerative burden; no one cut off from the privilege of this enlarging grace.

We think that much of the prejudice against rented pews in Churches has come from the fact that so little attention has been paid to that equalizing law which distributes the rental according to the distribution which God has made of His gifts of Providence to His children. Where the rent of every pew is fixed at a sum which a poor man cannot pay, the poor man is practically excluded from the Church; for he will not proclaim his poverty by taking a seat in your free pew. But this is an abuse of the system, and not a fair application of it. It enforces upon one class of the community that part of the Divine ordinance which requires each member of the kingdom to contribute to the ministration of the Gospel, but makes no provision for the discharge of the same duty by the much larger class of persons who cannot afford to pay this high rental. This important class is deprived of the opportunity of fulfilling the duty and of enjoying the privilege of assisting in the sustentation of the kingdom. The rental must be so graded that every working man and woman may secure a seat which can be enjoyed with a grateful sense of independence, with the consciousness that the small tax levied upon his poverty is just as real and as acceptable a contribution to the administration of God's kingdom as the higher tax paid with less effort by the richer members of the kingdom. The failure

so to grade the rental practically drives away from the Church the larger portion of the people. The result is seen in the general desecration of the Lord's day by multitudes of this valuable class.

To make the system work justly, fairly, and in accordance with the established laws and working of Divine Providence, the taxation must be so adjusted that the well-to-do may furnish by far the larger part of the required income. These favored persons will thus secure the most generous worship, and the best ministrations of the Gospel, not only for themselves, but will be efficient helpers in providing for their less favored brethren the same gracious and elevating ministrations. They could not make a more grateful offering to God for the distinguishing benefits He has bestowed upon them.

Then let pews and seats be placed at lower and lower rents, so that every person may pay for the same according to his or her ability. This will fairly distribute the burden and the privilege of maintaining the ministrations of the Gospel, according to the distribution which God has made of the bounties of His Providence. This is in close analogy with an income tax, with a property tax, and with customs duties by the State. The tax is thus fairly distributed, at least approximately, according to the capacity to pay.

In what are called the "Free and open Churches," there is for the most part an absence of any equalizing process. There is no distribution at all either of duty or privilege. A few willing and generous persons are forced to bear the whole burden; while the majority, some of them of ample means, literally receive the Gospel and all the appliances of a beautiful worship as a free gift, not from God, but from their fellow-worshippers.

As far as I have observed, where the offertory is relied upon for the regular income of a Parish as well as for its charities, there is required a continual and rasping reminder by the Minister, of the insufficiency of the income for the maintenance of the Church, including the support of the

Minister. And if by this process, so revolting to a sensitive man, and so injurious to ministerial influence, the income is painfully kept up to the lowest point of subsistence, the charities are very apt to be unprovided for. Of course, this evil state of things will not be found where one or two wealthy members of a Congregation, in their devotion to an idea, furnish all, or nearly all, the required income of a Parish. But such instances are rare, and are not unattended by evils of a grave character.

Ask the Treasurers of our Missionary Boards whence come the funds which it is their privilege to administer? They will tell you, I think, that they are derived almost exclusively from the congregations that have made liberal provisions by a sufficient Pew-rental for the current expenses of their own immediate household of faith—the Parish Church. By the sacrifices required for this purpose their hearts are enlarged to the broader charities of the Gospel. They give, and give freely, to send that Gospel to all who walk in darkness and in the shadow of death. They know that the Parish Church must be maintained in vigorous life, not only for the spiritual necessities of themselves and their children, but as the starting point—the primary collection district—of all financial ability in the Church to do the Master's work. All the beneficent Charities of the Church: Sunday-Schools and Mission Chapels in regions which without these would be hopelessly abandoned to vice and pauperism; Orphanages, Sheltering Arms, Hospitals, Free Dispensaries, and such like, flow out, as from an inexhaustible fountain, from the congregations which are strongly and generously supported within themselves by an adequate taxation of pews and seats. The Christian culture thus secured lifts up and enlarges heart and mind, realizes the Eucharistic injunction—*Sursum Corda*—makes the subjects of this grace mindful of all human needs, and anxious to relieve them.

The head of a family does not count the tax levied by the State, nor the home provided for his family, and the

current expenses of the family in food and clothing, as any part of his charities. But if those varied costs of living were mixed up in one common fund with the charities, I submit that this large and often inconvenient expenditure would dominate, and, to a large extent, absorb the charities. So in the Church. The provision of a house of worship, and furnishing it by a levied tax, so as to exclude the idea of charity, with all the appliances of a beautiful and generous service for the spiritual needs of the congregation to which we belong, will not come under the category of charity, but will be wanted rather as a part of the family expenditure. And the more generous and helpful this expenditure is, the more copiously does the stream of charity flow forth from these enlarged and grateful hearts to give to others these inestimable blessings.

The sum of the whole matter seems to me to be this. The Catholic Church is the Divine Foundation for securing to men, from generation to generation, the free gift of His love, the glorious salvation, which Christ has wrought for His redeemed. The free gift of God is not ministered to the heirs of salvation by Angels, nor by any of the Heavenly Host, but by an organized society composed of men with all the characteristics and needs of any social organization so composed. A Choir of Angels announced the birth of the Prince of Peace to Shepherds abiding in the field. No Choir of Angels has ever hymned the praises due from a worshiping assembly to the King of Glory. Cultured men and women must lead, and often furnish exclusively, this harmony of heaven reproduced on earth, grateful to God, and helpful to Christian worship. No part of the Hierarchy of Heaven has been deputed to minister the grace and the mysteries of the Kingdom of God. Men of like wants and passions with those to whom they minister are commissioned for this work. The one Divine Foundation—the Catholic Church—has been, from the beginning, divided into Dioceses and Parishes in order to meet effectually the common

exigencies incident to all working societies among men. By the necessity of the case, the financial element emerges everywhere in the fulfilment of the Divine mission of the Church. The obligation to pay, not to give—that comes afterwards—the obligation to pay the expenses of this organization, and of its ordered work, is laid universally upon the redeemed. Men and money are the sinews of war for a State. Men and money are the indispensable elements of National independence and of National existence. Men and money are just as imperatively demanded for the continued existence of the Church, and for the work which the Church is ordered to do. When we talk of the Gospel as a free gift, and then apply that blessed truth to the construction and maintenance of consecrated buildings, where Christ and His people may meet together; when we apply that truth to the elaborate and costly requirements of public worship and instruction, we fatally misapply and pervert the gracious truth. The Gospel is the free gift of God. But the administration of the earthly kingdom to which that Gospel has been intrusted is committed as a charge to men, the subjects of that kingdom. And this charge and burden are among the chief ministries of the salvation of the Gospel; one of the means of Grace by which the evil nature—the covetousness which is idolatry—is to be subdued, and Divine love established in the human soul. It was so in the old time, and must be so to the end of time. The magnificence of the Temple, the ever recurring and costly sacrifices of the law, a whole tribe set apart for religious service, the erection of Synagogues, and the constant demands upon the time and labor of the people, were not designed for the benefit of Jehovah, but for the education, the discipline, the nurture of the people. The Divine Ordinance of the Tithe was one mode of distributing and fairly equalizing the burden and the benefits of this ordered service. A tax upon pews and seats in the houses of God, if judiciously imposed, is another mode adapted to the condi-

tion of the Church in this country, for distributing with reasonable fairness the burden and the privilege of maintaining the fabric of the Church, and the appliances of common worship.

JAMES CRAIK.

THE REVISED VERSION.

“**T**HE New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greek, being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1881.”

Such is the title of the book presented to the readers of English, as a version to be deemed authoritative, and to be accepted by the people as the Book of God.

It is too late to consider the question whether such a version were necessary, or whether it were wise to undertake it. If the authorities who represent our Church had deemed it either necessary or wise, they would have shared in it. Their inaction, if not refusal, shows their judgment as to both those questions.

In 1877, the House of Bishops, on motion of the Bishop of Maryland (Dr. Whittingham) commending the idea of acting in concert with the Church of England, considered the subject of appointing a committee (the House of Deputies concurring) to report on the Revision as soon as it should be made. The motion was lost (Journal, p. 258).

In 1880, the House of Deputies, on motion of Mr. Johnson, Delegate from Connecticut, considered an almost identical resolution. The whole subject was laid on the table (p. 46).

The representatives of our Church have therefore declined to share in the movement for a Revision.

But the thing is done; and the question now remains, What shall be done with it? Shall it become the Vulgate of our people; or be relegated to an association with commentaries, expositions, and individual translations, such as Tyndale's, the Geneva version of 1560, or the Bishop's Bible of the reign of Elizabeth?

The results of such prolonged and learned labor seem to be almost beyond the reach of ordinary criticism; and he would not rightfully lay claim to prudent wisdom who should not hold his mind open to access of light, on a subject at present somewhat indistinct. Yet having formed a definite opinion, the expression of it by one reader of the Review may be helpful to other readers who are also studying the Revision.

The questions that arise as to this version are:

- 1st. Its authority.
- 2nd. Its competency.
- 3rd. Its acceptableness.
- 4th. Its probable usefulness.

But back of these is the critical question as to the correctness of the Greek text which is the basis of this version. Unhappily, American students have not a favorable opportunity for comparing manuscripts, and therefore may not be in a position to give a competent opinion. But some facts may be stated, which may assist others, as they have aided me, in forming some opinion.

For convenience in the present paper, the word "Translators" refers always to the translation of 1611, and the word "Versionists" is intended to designate those who prepared the Revision of 1881.

The question of the accuracy of the Greek Text used by our Translators in 1611 received a lively impulse on the dis-

covery of the Codex Sinaiticus, and the unfolding of the Codex Vaticanus, in the present century. Sacred literature is indebted for both these gifts to the greatest of modern critics, Tischendorf. It is believed that among the eldest manuscripts of the Bible, important to critical scholars, are the Sinaitic, known as Codex \aleph ; the Vatican, Codex B; the Alexandrinus, Codex A.

The indefatigable zeal of Tischendorf brought "Aleph" to light in 1859 at the monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai, as it was lying amongst rubbish in a waste-basket, just about to be used as kindling fuel. It is now at S. Petersburg.

Codex B was lying unused among the treasures of the Vatican Library, and was unearthed after years of patient labor in 1867; the first attempt being made in 1843. It is still in the Vatican.

Codex A has been in the British Museum since the time of Charles I., presented to him by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Using these guides, in his first excited inquiries, Tischendorf discovered many hundreds of errors in the Textus receptus. As he became more learned the number of errors decreased. As he became most learned the number diminished to a small figure, a hundred or two, and no one of them affected a vital doctrine of religion or touched a single important fact or statement of the received text.

The authority of manuscripts is supposed to depend on their antiquity. At the point nearest to the source of truth the water is supposed to be purer.

One mode of determining the age of manuscripts is by their chirography. Manuscripts in square capitals are the oldest. The Uncials or rounded capitals are older than the cursive texts. Consequently great dependence is placed on the Uncial manuscripts, which were the usual forms in rapid writing of capital letters. Such is the Codex Sinaiticus, written certainly before the year A.D. 340, the Vatican Codex and the Codex Alexandrinus, and such was the grand Gothic version of Ulphilas, the Apostle of the Germans.

Why a version indited with great labor in capitals should be more valuable than one written easily in a running hand, passes an unlearned comprehension. It is certainly much more liable to unintended errors. It would generally be supposed that a manuscript would be valuable according to the probability that the writer had access to original sources, or sources supposed to be authoritative at his age, and that the traditional descent of an accepted version from the earliest age would give the weightiest of all arguments for the value of a manuscript. Consequently, that Greek version would *prima facie* have the most authority which, while closely representing the opinion of ancient scholars, has survived the critical study of centuries, not by being shut up in an Arabian monastery, or sealed among the books of an ignorant Romish Priesthood, but by being tested and tried by the criticism of all the centuries. Such was the *Textus Receptus* that guided the translators of 1611. When they were doubtful they usually appealed to the Latin version of S. Jerome, completed at Bethlehem, A.D. 385.

His version was a review and comparison of several earlier Latin versions. Tertullian speaks of a Latin Bible in the 2nd century, and a Latin manuscript known as α was discovered 1724, and is about the same age as B or as Aleph. S. Jerome's version in the Latin was made by a scholar whose competency cannot be questioned. He had access to the Greek text which was then still in common use among cultivated Christians; for Greek was then the language of culture. S. Jerome could testify, if ever man could, to the state of the Greek text in his day; and he did testify by transferring it to the language of the Roman Empire, which was rapidly becoming, and did soon become, the language of the civilized world. Our translators of 1611 followed the Greek text as it had been traditionally preserved; but when doubtful as to the accuracy of any passage, they depended chiefly (so the preface to the New Version allows) on the testimony of the Latin Vulgate, this version by S. Jerome.

They therefore possessed, generally speaking, the same

materials for a judgment as to the original as was possessed by the present Versionists, except the opportunity of referring to ancient manuscripts which have been discovered since 1611. But it is to be remembered that the Textus Receptus at 1611 was based upon those identical ancient manuscripts. That which is now discovered had not then been lost. S. Jerome had access to the Codex Alexandrinus. It is now in the British Museum; but it was written in Alexandria in the 4th century, it is said, by Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady; (see, among other authorities, Humphrey's Art of Writing, p. 96;) for S. Jerome wrote in the latter part of the same century, and studied and compared versions in Egypt.

The text followed by the present Versionists is an uncertain quantity. It is thought that they have not availed themselves of the only element in which their opportunity was superior to that of our translators of 1611, or at least have not followed its guidance implicitly. They do not always follow the ancient Uncial manuscripts, if we may depend on the testimony of a scholar who writes in the *Quarterly Review*, and whose statements are given without reserve.

"In the Revised Version of the New Testament, he writes: the words of S. Matt. xvii. 21 are omitted, 'But this kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting.' Instead of them a note is inserted in the margin, which says: 'many authorities, some ancient, insert v. 21.' This plainly implies that most of the ancient MSS. omit the verse."

But the writer referred to, Dean Burgon, says: "This verse is vouched for by every known uncial but two; every known cursive but one."

Besides, it may well puzzle any ordinary scholar to understand why a verse vouched for by "many authorities" should be selected for omission, and thus a doubt be thrown upon the text, when the same words in the same connection occur in the Gospel according to S. Mark, and are admitted without a question (S. Mark ix. 29).

Again, the words of the eleventh verse of the same chapter of S. Matthew are also omitted, with this note in the margin—"Many authorities, some ancient, insert verse 11—"For the son of man came to save that which was lost."

But the writer referred to asserts that those words are "attested by every known uncial, and every known cursive but three."

Once more, and most important, perhaps, of all the rejected or mutilated passages is that wonderful verse, 1 Tim. iii. 16: "God was manifest in the flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels, received up into glory." But in the Revised Version the rendering is, "*He who* was manifested in the flesh," with the marginal note, "The word *God* in the place of '*He who*' rests on no sufficient ancient authority." The writer referred to, however, says, "ΘΕΟΣ is the reading of all the uncial copies extant but two, and of all the cursives but one," besides being, as he proceeds to show, the word used in a multitude of quotations from the greatest of the early Fathers.

Perhaps our readers may be interested in knowing on what apparent trifles some of these important decisions rest. In the uncials, the word *Theos* is written ΘΕΟΣ. It is sometimes abbreviated by the use of the first and last letters with a dash above them, thus: Θ̄Σ. If, in the haste of writing, the hyphen of Theta (Θ) be omitted it becomes ΟΣ; and if at the same time the dash above be omitted, the word becomes ΟΣ, which is the relative pronoun "*who*." Now these omissions did happen in the haste of writing this text in the Sinaitic. We have the evidence of the fact. For the corrector observed it, and wrote in the margin directing that the Theta and the dash should be restored, whenever one should read this text; thereby stating that the word ΟΣ, "*who*," was an error and was to be read ΘΕΟΣ, "*God*."

Many like instances may be given, *e.g.*, Rev. iv. 3, where Aleph reads ἰερεῖς, the corrector has ordered it to be read ἰρις, a rainbow.

But, say the Versionists, or it is said for them, what matters it? What is the difference whether you read "great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh," or, "He who was manifest in the flesh?"

It makes all the difference in the world to me, to know whether I am standing upon a rock or on the sand. Yet the sand is only rock in another form. I want to be satisfied that the "mystery of Godliness" in which I rest my faith is declared by the Charter of our Salvation to be "God manifested in human flesh." Yet the effect of the version, on the mere ground of a critical nicety, which, it may be, is entirely an indifference, is to take away my Lord and substitute "He who;" i.e., He who was born of Mary, "was manifested in the flesh." Resting on such a platitude as that, my soul would go down without a hope amidst the waves of the doubts of this sceptical age.

Another writer points out a similar mistake in the text of Coloss. ii. 18. Our translation reads "intruding into the things which he hath not seen." The version leaves out *μή*, not, entirely altering the sense, thus: "Standing on the things which he hath seen; and adds this note: "many authorities, some ancient, insert "not." Now the writer referred to states that the corrector of the Sinaiticus Codex has declared the omission to be an error, and has directed the *μή* to be inserted; and Tischendorf, interpreting the corrector, declares that all these corrections are not individual conjectures, but are to be used in amending the Codex. The language of Tischendorf is: "*Ceterum certum est omnes hos correctores non conjecturas suas sed exemplaria quibus ipsi utebantur in corrigendo codice secutos esse.*" (Chatfield, in *English Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1880.)

So, also, the Sinaitic manuscript, when corrected according to this ancient authority, certifies to the correctness of the Textus receptus used by our Translators in that magnificent passage, 1 Cor. xv. 55: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" The Versionists change that text, and thus disturb the whole current of our thoughts

in the climax of the argument, by which the Church has upheld the faith of its afflicted people in the moment of their deepest grief, through two hundred years. So far as appears, without any reason, they have made two alterations. Even were they critically accurate, yet both of them are useless: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"

The conclusion arrived at by many competent scholars is that the Versionists have not used their opportunity to accept the authority of the most ancient manuscripts lately discovered, although this was the chief advantage which they were supposed to possess over the Translators.

The text which they have followed seems to be not at all fixed; and their rule in deciding on variations is an uncertain rule, "the opinion of two-thirds of the Committee." Moreover, there is considerable difference of judgment as to the state of the text, between the English and American Committees.

The primary question—the determination what is the original Greek text—should certainly have been very clearly decided before the Versionists attempted to unsettle public confidence in that which the people hold as the original. But that primary question, What is the Greek text best representing the original? is evidently still unsettled.

Then we approach the New Version.

I. Its authority.

Its authority is the collective influence of the individuals who made it. Nor is this slight nor light. Many of them are men of profound learning; and the opinions of all are entitled to great respect. The opinions of the American Committee, however, seem to have found only partial response in England.

Out of 1507 emendations proposed by the American Committee only 681 have been adopted in the text; 82 have been placed in the margin; but 744 have been rejected, or, as the Bishop of Delaware most happily and

generously describes it, "in which the American Revisers have yielded their preferences."

The authority of the Version is merely that of the collective individuals. For they are not authorized representatives of the Church; nor of any of the Churches. The idea of forming such a Committee was first proposed in a meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury, assented to by that Convocation; and subsequently assented to by the Convocation of the Northern Province. But, alas! the Church of England has no authoritative Council. The Convocations combined, and the whole Bench of Bishops assenting, cannot authorize anything for the use of the Church. Therefore the appointment of the Committee of Revision was without the authority of the Church of England; certainly without the authority of the Church in Ireland and Scotland. The additions to the original Committee made at their own instance, from distinguished men in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and other Churches, were made without the authority of those Churches. The appointment of an American Committee, very gracefully suggested by the original Committee, was made without the authority of the Church on this Western shore of the Atlantic; or of any of the Churches whose members compose that Committee. It would be difficult to decide by what authority they were appointed unless it were by the learned Dr. Schaff. The members from our Church were not appointed by our General Convention. The Presbyterian members were not appointed by the "General Assembly," nor the Methodist members by the "General Conference": and so of others. In considering a question of such momentous interest to the religious welfare of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and intended to influence the whole English-speaking family, such a Committee should have had the highest possible authority. On the contrary they had none, except that of individual learning and character.

Authority, in the usual sense of the word, this Version

has none. Confirming this statement, the only authority that has as yet spoken on the subject, the Lord High Chancellor of England, Lord Selborne, (so it is reported,) has published his decision: to wit, "That any clerk reading this Version publicly in Church in place of the authorized Translation of 1611 will subject himself to ecclesiastical penalties."

II. Its competency.

By this is meant its comparative correctness as a translation, and its comparative ability to express the original. In deciding this question for myself, I adopt the principles applied by a master in literature, who writes in the *Evening Post* a criticism on a late translation of Thucydides. It is quoted the rather, because the question there relates to an ordinary Greek history, and cannot be affected by our religious prejudices. He is comparing Hobbes' translation of this celebrated Greek author, written about the time of our Translators, with Professor Jowett's recent version, in 1881.

"The translator of a classical masterpiece, such as the history of Thucydides, must of necessity make choice between two ideals of translation. He may, on the one hand, hold that the main object to be attained is such a reproduction of the manner and language of the original author as may give to a person ignorant of Greek the same impression of Thucydides' mode of writing, of his mannerisms,—in short, of his style,—as is derived by a scholar from reading Thucydides in the Greek. This is the object, whether aimed at consciously or not, which is to a singular extent attained by Hobbes. The stiffness, the intricacy, even a certain confusion of language rather than of thought, which perplex the reader of Hobbes' English, are undoubtedly to be found in the Greek of Thucydides.

"A translator may, on the other hand, hold that the true end of his work is to reproduce, not so much the style, as the thoughts and meaning of the original author. On such a view of translation, the end of the English translator of Thucydides is most fully reached when he has put before

readers ignorant of Greek a clear, perspicuous, accurate—we may add readable—version of Thucydides; such as the Athenian writer might, were he revived to life and endowed with perfect command of the English language, lay before the educated people of England or of America. If this be the true object of translation, Professor Jowett has as nearly attained it as it can in the nature of things be attained. The work before us gives every thought which Thucydides wished to put before his contemporaries; and what is equally important, it does not convey any idea in addition to the thoughts which he intended to express. It further conveys the meaning of the Athenian historian, in English, as easy to be understood by Englishmen of the nineteenth century as was the Greek of Thucydides by the Athenians of his day."

Such are the true object and aim of a translation. In other words, a translation should not be a transfer. For a presentation of the Word of God in English, we do not need a repetition in English words of Greek forms and particles and phrases in which it was delivered to the original witnesses; but we want the facts given in English sentences which will most faithfully convey them, and Divine thoughts in those English words which will most clearly represent them. Consequently, above all other rules in translating a dead language, it is paramount to throw life into it; to make the thought live again; to use words that will reproduce the ideas in their anciently living vigor. A tyro transfers word for word; but our Translators in 1611 gave to English readers the thoughts contained in the Gospel, in English forms familiar to their age.

Elasticity is needed for successful translation. No law will fit every case. Scarcely any word in English so corresponds with a Greek word that it can be used to represent that Greek word in every position. Shades of meaning were determined in ancient days as they are in these days, not always by a change of words, but by a hundred circumstances surrounding the word, which cannot be de-

fined. But those particular shades of meaning cannot now be given to any one English word, even by similar surroundings, because our usages convey the different shades by different words. As an illustration, take the word *αγαπη*, the word which Bishop Lee selects for comment, in his calm review of the subject of "the comparative revision." The Versionists use only one English word, "love," to convey the many shades of *αγαπη*. But our Translators use two at least; perhaps more. "Love" they use to represent the affection, both passive and active, towards God and towards man; but "charity" is the word chosen for the affection in action, when leading to and expressing itself in deeds. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." "Love thy neighbor as thyself." But it is "charity" that "suffereth long and is kind, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." An observance of this simple principle, which is indeed a fact rather than a rule, would have saved the Versionists from the intolerable blunder of blotting "charity" out of that exquisite eulogium of brotherly love in action, given by S. Paul. "Intolerable" one need not hesitate to call it; even although thereby placed among the objectors to whom the beloved Bishop of Delaware refers, as using that adjective respecting it. If the objector should thus seem to be wanting in *charity* to one whom he *loves*, at least it will be seen that charity differs from love. If in Greek one word might have expressed both those emotions, in English two words are required. The iron rule which the Versionists have followed, namely, to translate each Greek word always by the same English word is "intolerable." It has rendered their Version in many places incompetent to express what the Translation of 1611 expresses with facility, felicitously.

Translation is not a thing to be measured by rule and square and tape-line. It is a matter of taste; largely a matter of feeling. It is to be satisfactorily undertaken, not by those who have been dealing only with the roots of words, and the slow processes of verbal development,

but by those who feel the power of the English tongue to convey living thoughts in living words.

The Versionists might well have divided themselves into two classes, one in which would have been those whose scholarly knowledge could ferret out the exact intention of each Greek phrase; the other, those whose literary culture could place that intention into the purest idiomatic English. Then the competency of their joint work would have been much less questionable. And then if Dr. Trench, that master of words, could have weighed each change from the old, and of his own motion struck out each word from the new which did not more perfectly convey the intended thought, we should have had a new translation indeed.

Take an example given by Bishop Lee. In our Translation the text is, "Jesus knowing that all things were accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst." The words *accomplished* and *fulfilled* represent two Greek words, the latter of which is stronger than the former: *τελεω*, to complete; *τελειόω*, to bring to the true end. In order to make this distinction clear the Versionists have it, "Jesus knowing that all things are now finished, that the scripture might be accomplished." Compare these two readings. Will any one say that an accomplished fact is more thoroughly done than a finished fact?

In ordinary usage an accomplished person is not the equivalent of one who has reached perfection. And yet the Versionists have used "accomplished" as if it were the stronger word of the two. Our Translators understood the distinction intended in the Greek and expressed it, whilst the Versionists have failed. They said all things were "*accomplished*," "were," not "are finished" as the Versionists have it—for how can one relate a past event in the present tense? "Accomplished" indicates the completing of a series of events just such as were ended at that moment in the life of Jesus. And then, all things being accomplished, the Scriptures were "*full-filled*." Can any-

thing be fuller than full? It is the strongest word that could be found to convey the idea. And yet the Versionists have dismissed that grand old Saxon word "full-filled," in order to use the Latin "finished"; which at once suggests the diminutive idea of reaching the fine end of a thing which has come to naught because there is nothing beyond. "*Full-filled*"! Our Translators felt what our blessed Lord at that moment realized, that the cup which the Father had given him to drink was *full*.

Another inflexible rule of the Versionists has compelled them to transfer the names of articles of commerce or household use into English: not into the English word that conveys the idea, but the English word that conveys the unknown or obsolete object. For example, in the familiar passage, "no man putteth new wine into old bottles," they read, "no man putteth new wine into old wine-skins." It is correct, but does not in the least render the idea more clear to the majority of readers. The text still needs a commentator. I asked an intelligent Sunday scholar, not versed in Greek customs, Why did our Saviour say "no man putteth new wine into old bottles"? The reply was, "I suppose because the bottles were cracked." And that is precisely what happens to the old wine-skins. So nothing has been gained in the way of explanation. We wonder what the Old Testament Committee will do with David's prayer? Will they translate it "put my tears" into thy wine-skin, or will they throw away the bottle and insert "into thy lachrymatory"? Poor David! "I am like a wine-skin in the smoke"? It is true: but we shall never read it from the version of the Church to come, without a shudder at the picture of the shrivelled face of the suffocated Psalmist.

Among the emendations proposed and urged by the American Committee, although happily rejected by the English, is one which fairly illustrates the point under consideration. Acts xix. 15—"The evil spirit answered, Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?"

"*Know*" is used in the sense of recognized, as in the margin. But different words are used in the Greek, *γινώσκω* and *ἐπίσταναι*; and according to the iron rule two words must be used in English to represent them. Inasmuch as the two Greek words mean precisely the same thing, the English Versionists violate their rule; but the American Committee, with republican simplicity, would maintain the rule through all absurdities. They transfer it thus—"The evil spirit answered, Jesus I know, and Paul I am acquainted with." Think of S. Paul's disgust! But fortunately the Version has been spared in this instance by the better taste, not by the consistency, of our English brethren.

These are illustrations of a frequent failure in the new Version to appreciate the principles of translation. It is a bold assertion, but there are many defenders of it, on both sides of the ocean. The competency of the new Version, as compared with the old Translation of 1611 to represent the original, cannot be vindicated.

III. Its acceptableness.

It may be taken for granted that every reader of the new Version has turned immediately to consult his favorite texts, or those which have caused him the most anxious study; and accordingly formed an opinion of its general acceptableness. Pursuing this course, I turned immediately to the "*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*," and to my dismay discovered that the Versionists had taken out of it its very pith and marrow. Rom. v. 1: "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God." There is strength. There is manly confidence, the fruit of justification. There is a comfortable assurance of peace. But the Versionists have made it utterly nerveless: "Being justified by faith, let us have peace." No result from the justification. Let us go to work again, to seek for that which the act of justification was supposed to have intended to convey. And so this emasculation of one of the most precious experimental passages in the Gospel runs on

throughout the context; destroying everywhere the vigor and joyous hope expressed by that Apostle who knew in whom he believed. "We *have had* our access," they say; not "we have it now"; "let us rejoice in hope," they say; not "we rejoice in hope." "The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts"; not "is shed abroad" in them—a continuous present. But most graciously they have left untouched, and it is almost the only important phrase that is untouched, the words, "While we were yet sinners Christ died for us."

The American Committee are to be credited with an earnest effort to allow this passage to stand as it was; in which they were more consistent with their feeling of truth than with their rules. As, in a former instance, the case was reversed, so here the American Committee exhibited the prevalence of a religious sense, whilst the English seem to have held that any error of the copyists is to be accepted, provided only that there are enough of the copyists who agree in the error. The substitution of ω for o leads the Versionists to substitute "let us have" instead of "we have peace." "Alford says the manuscript authority is strong for $\epsilon\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, but every internal consideration is against it." And we infer that Bishop Lee is of his mind.

Our readers may easily see for themselves whether any difficult passage in this great argument written for the Romans is made clearer because of the Version; *e.g.*, "To whom ye present yourselves as servants unto obedience." Our Translators have it, "as servants to obey." The Version reads, "that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered;" the Translation, "that form of teaching which was delivered unto you." The former may be more literal, as some critics think, but it is certain that S. Paul did not write so palpable an untruth. The un-English use of the Greek article is very confusing throughout this argument. "Many were dead": the many were dead. "Many were made righteous": the many were made righteous. In what

possible way does the introduction of the English article "the" help to give clearness to the idea?

It would occupy time to no purpose, to examine more passages wherein the changes are not acceptable. It is after all a matter of individual judgment, preference, or taste. If the Versionists had adhered to their first rule, which was "to make no changes that were unnecessary," there would have been little room for adverse criticism. But Bishop Lee relates that Bishop Ellicott, when presenting the Version to Convocation, said, "In the Gospels are eight or nine changes in every five verses, somewhere about three in every two verses being for critical reasons. In the Epistles fifteen changes for every five verses;" about two to each verse for critical reasons. We are therefore expected to receive as acceptable the idea that our old Gospel on which all our faith and hope are built, and by which our experiences have been measured, and our lives ruled, needed revision on an average in two places in every verse. And whilst the Versionists have been making these thousand alterations, they have not increased its clearness, have diminished its rhythm, and, in so far as it shall be used, have destroyed its claim to be the vernacular for an Anglo-Saxon race.

The constant and apparently unnecessary changes are wearying and worrying, and accomplish no good purpose whatsoever. Examine the very first chapter, S. Matthew i., which is a book of genealogy. The Versionists have changed name after name—Esrom to Hezron, Aram to Ram, Naason to Nahshon—forsooth to conform to the Greek; but when they come to the only name of importance, *Emmanuel*, they change it to Immanuel, in order not to conform it to the Greek. For their own margin says, "in the Greek, *Emmanuel*." The Greek text, to which many of our readers are accustomed (Griesbach's), reads, "until she had brought forth her *first-born* son." But the Versionists have it, "until she had brought forth a son"; a

verse which should not have been touched without imperative cause. It is difficult to see why the "*just*" Joseph should now be known as "*righteous*" in this particular reference; nor why it is better to say, "which was spoken by the Lord *through* the Prophet," than "of the Lord *by* the Prophet;" unless indeed to debase the prophetic idea to modern art. As if the Voice of the Lord no longer spake *by* the Prophet's natural faculties, but *through* him as by some telephonic utterances. Worse than useless changes these are; mere critical niceties, which lead inevitably to an unsettling of the minds of ordinary readers as to the accuracy of that which they have hitherto believed to be the Word of God.

The Bishop of Carlisle, quoting an opinion uttered by the Archbishop of Dublin, says: "I quote the passage as on the ground of its general force and wisdom, so especially because I am glad to refer to so high an authority for confirmation of a feeling which I myself experience strongly and painfully in reading the Revised Version." The Archbishop (Trench), speaking of the Version, uses the phrase, "the not unfrequent sacrifice of grace and ease to the vigorous requirements of a literal accuracy, pushed to a faulty excess." "Nay, more," the Bishop of Carlisle adds, "in some cases not only grace and ease, but all intelligible meaning."

Under the shelter of such grave judgments, we may venture our opinion that the Version, in its present state, as a substitute for the Translation of 1611, is *unacceptable*.

IV. Its probable usefulness.

The conscientious labors of so many learned men, thirty in England and eighteen in America, continuous through ten years, cannot fail of usefulness. Possibly, the Authorized Translation might be improved by revision in a few texts. And this Revision provides for those improvements. But, as a substitute for that which the English-speaking family has revered during two hundred years as the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it cannot be

useful. Not only is such substitution rendered impossible by its want of general acceptableness, but it will be prevented by the want of authority on the part of those by whom it is put forth.

When the Translation of 1611 was issued, the Anglo-Saxon family was one. Its emigrations had not commenced. Its grand migrations which have distinguished these two hundred years, West, East, and South, had only been foreshadowed. The momentous era had indeed arrived when the heads of the families were about taking leave of one another, never to re-assemble. Then the providence of God provided, through a pedantic king (who thus alone became "of blessed memory"), that each family should receive from His own Divine hand, together with its marching orders, the Charter of Salvation. That Charter was the same to every family. That Charter was to be read by all alike, and in every land alike; and was to render the mother-tongue as immortal as were the terms of sovereign mercy which it conveyed. The family can never re-assemble. The authority which was a symbol of its unity has disappeared. There is not a power on earth to authorize a new English Version of the Bible. Even were the Church through all its allied separations to speak as one, and all the Churches to speak with it, in the same tone, yet that voice would not carry authority to all the members of the Anglo-Saxon family. There is no possibility of agreeing on a new English Version, much less of giving it universal authority.

There remains then only that this Revised Version shall find its usefulness as a commentary on the Divine Word, and a help to students. "I have no doubt as to the advice to be tendered," so speaks the Bishop of Carlisle; and we adopt part of his thought—"the Revised Version is to be used in the study, not at all in the reading-desk or lectern." If used in the pulpit, except as one uses the phrases of an author, I am sure that it will bewilder the people; they will not know how to distinguish between what is God's Word and what is not; and in their bewilderment will be likely

to throw their Bible overboard, and their preacher after it. The Bishop of Carlisle thinks that "As a companion in the study it will be of value, calling attention to passages of doubtful authority, and to the results 'of this criticism.'" This criticism, notwithstanding all objections to the use to which they have put it, as criticism has never in the history of literature been more elaborate or laborious. This consensus of scholars may well take the place of those individual criticisms by which youthful sermonizers, though deficient in information, endeavor to amend the sacred text. They may now substitute for their own the learning that is profusely embodied in the Revised Version. But beyond the facility thus given for a certain measure of authoritative criticism, and beyond its true and valuable aid as a commentary in studying God's Word, its usefulness is not apparent.

G. T. BEDELL.

A LAST WORD ON THE REVISION.

PROFESSOR GARDINER'S article, "The New Testament Revision Again," deserves a brief notice for its courtesy and general fairness; and because of his position in one of the best of our Schools of the Prophets: where I am glad to believe that his opinions do not prevail.

I want to put *first* the matter of least importance, namely, the strange mistake of my claiming Griesbach and Porson as advocates of the authenticity of 1 St. John v. 7, 8. It is a blunder so flagrant that—like some people's extreme ugliness which becomes beautiful—it corrects itself. Quoting Forster, whose argument is largely against Porson, I can only account for the mistake from the fact that I wrote my article, away from books, at Mount Desert; and from memoranda of authorities made in pencil, in the brief leisure of a bishop's life at home: and I suppose the list of *writers on* the authenticity became, in part, transformed into a list of *supporters of* it, by some hocus-pocus which escaped my eye, alike in the copy that went to the printer and in the proof which came back. One other chronological mistake the

Professor points out, which I am glad to rectify. The Curetonian Syriac version is not of the second century. Nor do I believe it is of the *fifth*. It is more correctly, I think, assigned to the third century; and if so, is older than Aleph or B.

I greatly dislike recurring again to the Revised Version. Longer examination diminishes and conceals "its many and great excellencies," and makes its defects more offensive. Certainly condemnation—of which it gets much—has not yet produced "the reaction in its favor" which the Professor (shall I say?) fears. And it seems almost like the cowardice that strikes a man when he is down, to speak any more against the R. V.; after it has suffered what it has at the hands of the Bishops Wordsworth, and of Burgon, Cook, Espin, Trevor, my own cathedral Chancellor Dean et al. Its chief wounding will be found to be in the house of its friends, Westcott and Hort, the peculiar processes of whose textual criticism have amazed many of the admirers of the Regius Professor. I am on the one hand glad that its Greek has disturbed scholars, and its English, "the unlearned," to a degree that seals its fate for authorized use. I am sorry that the long labor of such learned men should have failed to produce what might have been, but for its wilful Greek and its woful English, a valuable commentary upon the New Testament.

But I must notice some parts of the Professor's reply. In dealing with the text of the three heavenly witnesses (Porson and Griesbach being excluded) the other authorities are as I have claimed them; are not as contemptible as the Professor accounts; and there are more than I referred to. My mild conclusion about the disputed words was: "The final decision, we think, will leave them bracketed in the text." My argument was *not* from the authority of any surviving MSS.; and I relied largely on the grammatical construction of the "*τὸ ἐν*."

1. Prof. Gardiner says that "S. Jerome does *not* give his authority to the passage;" and that "the verse is wanting

in the best MSS. of S. Jerome's version." And yet the able Migné, editing Jerome, says on this verse, "*Ita ad litteram tres quoque nostri MSS. dudum laudati habent;*" and adds later on, with a strong statement of the grammatical argument, "*at vero de Hieronymiano exemplari, miror quod quis sibi potuit persuadere eam particulam testimoniorum de cælo testantium defuisse.*"

2. The Montfort Codex, which the Professor assigns to the XV. century, is *possibly at least* to be assigned to a date as early as the XIII. The passage was certainly quoted in the Lateran Council in 1215. Tertullian's authority is to be added to Cyprian's, and the Latin manuscripts* of La Cava and Santa Croce carry back the verse to the VII. century.

I am content to lie under the accusation of a flavor of antiquity, in the long-cherished companionship of Wake and Secker and Bull and Pearson and Beveridge and Horsley. And as experts in the study of the internal evidence from

* A letter from a learned Priest and Professor speaking of this verse says:

"The critics say that no good Greek text contains the passage. This is just what I should expect, for * * Eusebius of Nicomedia overhauled the 50 copies which Eusebius of Cæsarea prepared (under Constantine's order for the Empire) and cut the passage out—a one thousand times easier task than to foist it in as the critics are obliged to maintain. He could not get at the Latin copies; and there the African prelates found it and hurled it at the Arian King as their *best* authority."

My Rev. Brother adds from Charles Butler's *Reminiscences* the following extract:

"The arguments against the authenticity of the verse are very strong; but the admission of it into the Confession of Faith presented by the Catholic Bishops to Hunneric the Vandal King is an argument of weight in its favor. The statement of it by the Reminiscent was allowed by Mr. Porson, the late learned adversary of the verse, to deserve attention: he promised the writer to reply to it."—Butler's *Reminiscences*, Vol. I. 233. Butler published his *Horæ Biblicæ* in which he brought out the fact about the Bishops and Hunneric in 1799. The date of his conversation with Porson I cannot find. Porson died in 1808. Probably he had plenty of time to answer it if he could, but he ever after held his peace.

grammatical construction, Middleton is certainly a match for Porson; and Bengel has no superior.

In connection with the concluding verses of S. Mark xvi., I have only to say that Burgon's monograph, if it is "a curiosity of literature," is a masterpiece of well-reasoned argument from testimony, which indicates alike the ability and the accuracy of the author's research. The Professor's statement that "S. Jerome did not recognize the genuineness of these verses" is hard to reconcile with the fact that he inserted them in the Vulgate.

The Professor thinks me unjust to the Revisers, in that I selected the texts from Dr. Roberts' Companion. I was honestly under the impression that Dr. Roberts put the best foot forward; and I am sure, on further examination, that while I might easily find worse specimens, I could not find better, of the Revisers' work.

And again as to the preponderating authority of Codex Sinaiticus. The Professor makes a curious distinction between Tischendorf and the Revisers. Of the former he says, "he *very frequently* rejects the readings of the Sinaiticus." Of the Revisers he says, "they *occasionally* set aside the combined authority of the Sinaitic and the Vatican." I was referring not to their *occasional*, but to their usual, action. It would perhaps be more correct to say that the Revisers have elevated the Sinaitic *and* the Vatican above all other MSS.; and these MSS. above all other authorities. Two facts, which are I think acknowledged, will prove this: first, that Westcott and Hort's text greatly influenced the Revisers, and next that Westcott and Hort are chiefly controlled by Aleph and B. I might easily burthen this paper with instances in proof. The Professor's special text, S. Matt. xix. 17, perhaps was determined by the aid of versions, etc; but it was *not determined without the aid* of the Sinaitic and Vatican. But a casual examination in a variorum Bible will I am sure establish my statement.

The Professor's closing paragraph is the only passage that can be faulted with unfairness. He puts a statement in

quotation-marks—"that text of the New Testament is to be received, which the Church has acknowledged, without regard to whether or not it may have been the text of the original Apostolic writings"—not giving the source; and saying that I "*may* not adopt the position" (which means that perhaps I may), "but as it is adopted *by others* and as the article naturally suggests its consideration," etc.

I am happy to be unfamiliar with the author of the statement in question. It has not "the flavor of the antiquity" to which I have been used to defer. But the first part of the statement is one which every Catholic Churchman accepts, as the first and safest evidence of Canonical Scriptures, "that is to be received, which the Church has acknowledged." It is the ground of the VI. article. It is very plainly accepted by the Professor, in dealing with S. John viii., 11. It is destroyed, I know, by the Revised Version of 2 S. Tim. iii. 16, which leaves any man free to make his own Canon. But no man can settle the Canon of Scripture without it, and certainly the insertion of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of S. James into the sacred Canon are of more importance, than certain verses in the Epistle of S. John and in the Gospel according to S. John and S. Mark. And these are in the Canon, *because* the Church acknowledges them. I am sorry for anybody who added "without regard to whether or not it may have been the text of the original Apostolic writings;" and I am still sorrier if the Professor imagined the addition; and in an article of otherwise conspicuous courtesy and fairness, implies that I *may*, or that others *do*, *adopt* a position so untenable, so uncatholic, and so absurd.

On the whole, I am inclined to appeal from Professor Gardiner in the *Church Review* for January, to Professor Gardiner in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July. I cordially accept his statement: "On simple literary grounds we do not believe it [the R. V.] will ever be allowed to replace the great classic of the English language, while nearly the same verdict is likely to be rendered also on devotional

grounds;" and, interchanging *much* for *something*—a case, I think, of *mutatis mutandis*—I should write his sentence (on page 374 *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July), "*Something* (not *much*) has been excellently done, which will help materially to a right understanding of the sacred word; but *much* (not *something*) has been left undone that ought to have been done, and (more) done that ought not to have been done."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

CHURCH MUSIC AND ITS FUTURE IN AMERICA.

THE missing link between earth and heaven in art is music. Painting may be sensual and yet truly of the fine arts, sculpture may be lewd and yet a child of the Muses, but music can scarce speak its native tongue and suggest a thought which angels might not hear and lovingly answer. The cancan may be accompanied by music, as a pure soul may be held in the forceful arms of foul associations; but devil's anthems to be homelike must be discordant, and to that it comes in the end; sensual sounds by natural development become discords.

The composer who sinks so low as to seek to degrade this art to a base or sensual service fails of any lasting hold upon fame or love. He stands at a distance below Mendelssohn and infinitely removed from Handel. While art in other departments amasses fortunes and satisfies ambition and enslaves even genius, though prostituted to the basest uses, they fail who seek to drag sounds accordant with angelic natures through the mire of earth-born passions. Music, the language of immortals, celestial music, its mysterious

movements accord with and may reveal the true relations of all things! Man in a fallen state may catch and imitate something of this highest art which baffles his ingenuity and surpasses his powers, but its fullest revelations are only possible where in realms transcending space and time it throbs through all sentient being the perfect knowledge and everlasting love of God.

Divine in its origin, it naturally inspires us to noble duties, to reverence and devotion. We believe in the music of the spheres, of which Dryden eloquently sang:

"From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
This universal frame began.
When nature underneath a heap
Of jarring atoms lay
And could not heave her head,
The tuneful voice was heard from high,
Arise! ye more than dead.
Then cold and hot and moist and dry
In order to their stations leap
And Music's power obey.
From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
This universal frame began:
From harmony to harmony
Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
The diapason closing full in Man."

In proportion as the loftiest, most sacred and most poetic conceptions of music are cherished will be the excellence of the American church music of the future.

Holding with the Scriptures and as consonant with the discoveries of modern science, that at the Creation the "morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy," we believe also with the classic Plutarch that while useful in purifying, regulating and harmonizing the human soul, the highest purpose of music is the offering of praise to the Divine Being.

Spiritual song and angelic and Divine life are revealed close to our mundane being, so that, notwithstanding our material environments, God is not very far from each one of us. Around this dim and disordered world music is sound-

ing from the stars, and the accompanying voices are those of the sons of God.

Not matter merely moved, by soulless laws and forces, but circumambient soul-life is disclosed, realm on realm of spiritual being, all centering in God. Not a spiritually void and lifeless universe is this; not a reign of mere law with motion in fixed orbits, and exact, remorseless forces; not a series of mathematically inevitable processes alone; but a world with attendant spiritual life, a universe replete with expressive music, rousing God's sentient sons to responsive songs of praise. "The heavens declare the glory of God" in that "their sound is gone out into all lands and their speech to the ends of the world."

First heard at the laying of the corner-stone of the Creation, the song has sounded on until, at Christ's advent, clouds open and mortal ears are quickened to hear a multitude of the heavenly host, with the announcing angel, now celebrating the laying of the Everlasting Corner-stone, the birthday of the re-creation. It is a sublime thought, a universe vocal with the praise of God from planets and stars and systems as well as from the answering voices of the sons of God.

This assertion of the connection of music and worship in the on-going of the universe is apparently much older than the most ancient literature. Sages among Chaldeans, Babylonians and Egyptians, whose systems of music, worship and astronomy were the result of traditions and of long contemplation, re-affirm the ancient idea that the motions of all heavenly bodies are regulated by musical intervals and that thus they make everlasting harmony. The music of the "ever-during" spheres is no poetic figment. Originally Asiatic, it passed later with many principles of knowledge and civilization by way of Phœnicia and Egypt into Greece, and became part of the ancient thought and worship of Europe.

The doctrine of the music of the spheres was accepted, according to Plutarch, by all the philosophers; "for the

universe," say they, "was framed and constituted by its author on the principle of music." Why then does not the ear perceive the resounding song of the morning stars? Because, was the reply of classic philosophers, of the vastness of the concussion of the air, or because of the distance of the stars or the delicacy of their music, for receiving which the ears of mortals are not adapted. As in many instances, ancient philosophers, ignorant of the Baconian method and of our latest experimental processes, here reach conclusions resembling those of Helmholtz and Tyndall and the inductions of modern science. According to the Greek Archytas, our ears are like narrow-necked phials into which, if you pour too rapidly, nothing will come. The relation between slow vibrations or movements and a low note, or between rapid movement and high pitch was anciently understood. Nicomachus, treating of the scale, gives the lowest note to Saturn, because of his apparently slow movement and greater distance from the sun, while the highest note (as with the shortest string of the lyre) was ascribed to the moon as nearest to the earth and apparently fleet of movement. The telescope annihilates distance; the microscope reveals marvels of beauty and utility all about us. If there is a medium, however ethereal, sufficient for waves of light, must not motion through it produce sound waves or vibrations of sound? As there is a medium for the transmission of light from distant stars, is it not probable, nay, in the light of modern discovery, certain, that there is a sufficient medium for the transmission of sound? The fact that the ear is dull of hearing is no proof that by inventions already suggested or by the nobler powers of the spiritual body, the soul may not become conscious of glorious sound which as yet mortal ear hath not heard nor mortal heart conceived. The Egyptians ascribed twenty-eight notes to the universe, that being the number of notes in the scale; while, in ancient treatises, mathematics and astronomy are so mingled with statements as to music that he must study them who would possess all the treasures of thought and speech con-

cerning melody and harmony and symphony. Perhaps it was the lack of such research that led De Quincey to wonder that upon a subject so sublime as music there had been so few worthy utterances. Without such research, how marvelously has Shakespeare caught and reproduced this ancient thought in the familiar but exquisite lines :

" Look, how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold;
There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims.
Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it."

Pythagoras held that the glorious sounds were audible only to the gods; and Milton but re-echoes a sentiment seemingly as old as human thought, when he speaks of the starry sphere of planets

" yet regular
Then most regular when most irregular they seem;
And in their motions, harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted."

Music and worship then were divinely married in the temple of the universe. From the first Scripture utterances concerning music to the last, the lesson is the same. In the Apocalypse, worship by means of adoring music is the attitude of the saintly soul delivered from the burden of the flesh; not feeling solely; for although, as music is the idealized language of the emotions, some of its votaries have asserted that feeling is that into which all else fades in the future life; yet there is clearly narrated the continuance and enlargement of thought as well. "Thou art worthy!" is the acclaim of the redeemed, "for thou hast ransomed us out of every kingdom and people." History is revived while emotion and adoring song accompany the most elevated use of knowledge and express the loftiest achievements of thought. Thus as earth's history opens with celestial music, when morning stars together hymn its advent and

sons of God responsive shout their joy, it is also revealed that it will close with a doxology: "And I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire, and them that had gotten the victory; and they sang the song of Moses and of the Lamb. After these things, I heard a great voice of much people in heaven saying, Alleluia! And a voice came out of the throne saying, Praise our God!"

From the earliest times instrumental and vocal music have advanced hand in hand. If to the hymn of creation planetary systems sounded their accompaniment, a union not less significant is seen in the whole musical history of our race between instrumental and vocal music. If the voice and vocal music were among the earliest means of expressing emotion and passion, so at the dawn of the arts, where Tubal Cain was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron, there stands his brother Jubal as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." Stringed and wind instruments are thus designated; for while the word organ is used from earliest times in the Bible, the instrument intended (as where the Psalmist exclaims, "Praise Him on the strings and pipes!") is a tube of wood or metal, and later several pipes extending to an octave or two, joined together, to be held in the hands and played by fingers and lips.

Although the Egyptians had a limited but suggestive form of keyboard and although their hydraulic organ, admired by the Greeks, was quite like a Yankee notion in its clever construction and use of water in regulating the pressure of air from the bellows, yet it was of very small capacity. The primitive organ is seen in representations of the heathen god Pan; and Raphael has portrayed S. Cecilia, "inventress of the vocal frame," holding the pandean pipes as the Christian patroness of music.

As the earliest musical progress was in the Orient and in Egypt, the Jews may have brought instruments and a knowledge of their use from Egyptian bondage to be consecrated to the worship of Jehovah. The *Te Deum*, which

celebrated their triumphant passage of the Red Sea, was "sung by Moses and the children of Israel;" and while the last notes of lofty praise were yet sounding, Miriam the Prophetess took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances, and Miriam answered them, "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously!" Resounding from camp and tabernacle during their wanderings, songs of praise were to find their highest form, when, after the Promised Land was gained, the temple was reared, to be the ever-memorable abode of worship and music. As the simple organ of Jubal may be called the father of the modern magnificent church organ, so some lineal descendant of his harp soothed the madness of Saul and was a vehicle of the inspiration of David; while the ideal which its primitive form dimly foreshadowed is found now in that most popular instrument of our time which with reverberating strings and brilliant keyboard adorns almost every American home.

For the temple's service, the inspired Psalms and their instrumental accompaniments were, it would seem, alike composed under Divine guidance. Members of the tribe of Levi were selected by the Psalmist to praise Jehovah upon instruments, and a great musical college was thus founded. It consisted of four thousand musicians, of whom nearly three hundred were "cunning" performers, capable of educating the remainder. They were divided into bands of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy performers, each band being under the leadership of a competent conductor. Asaph and other leaders, it appears from the statements in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of First Chronicles, marked the time by sounding the cymbals; the singers going before, we are elsewhere told, and these performers upon instruments, following; in the midst, were damsels playing upon the timbrels. So from the Sixty-eighth Psalm and other passages we infer that both sexes participated and that voices of singing-men and singing-women, accompanied with many hundreds of instruments, made up

the mighty chorus of the temple service. Stored in its treasury, it is said, were various trumpets to the number of two hundred thousand, with some fifty thousand harps, psalteries and other like instruments. So musical were the people that joyous songs were heard at weddings and festivals, and wailing dirges sobbed in responsive sorrow over the loved remains of the departed.

The art had its highest culture and use in connection with worship. David, welcomed with jubilant songs after his early and memorable victory, became the inspired master of sacred compositions so cherished that the chants which he composed and dedicated to his singers and minstrels, sung in the temple and on the field of battle, resounded from age to age even down to the foundation of the second temple, and again at the signal victory of the Maccabean Army, and not improbably when "great David's greater Son" fulfilled all righteousness by frequenting the temple's courts. Perhaps its traces linger yet in synagogues and in Christian chants and ancient hymns.

To the attempts to prove that a musical service of worship is divinely ordered because of the Divine ordering of the temple service, it is often replied that the temple and its service have passed away.

Synagogues exist now as of old, and although a musical service with chant and hymn and anthem seems inseparably associated with Hebrew worship, yet it is agreed that the service of the synagogue was not of Divine appointment.

But music and worship need for their union no such formal argument or literal sanction; that union exists in the nature of things, has its recognition throughout the Scriptures, is the burden of prophecies of the Apocalypse, is felt in the depths of the soul and proclaimed in the highest efforts of art, and is to be realized in heaven.

It is not necessary to discuss here the character of the musical instruments known to the ancients and especially to the Hebrews. But with a body of four thousand trained musicians, with a collection at the temple of tens of thousands

of instruments, with singing-men and singing-women and "cunning" leaders and inspired composers, teachers and directors and a song-loving people, let who can believe that their music was enriched by no *harmony* and consisted only of melody or notes in unison.

Of Egypt, whence they came out a musical people, Plato tells us in his *Laws* that the same sacred hymns were sung for thousands of years. Egyptian harps had several octaves of strings. Drop such an instrument accidentally, and inevitably the sounds would suggest concords.

God gives human voices in different parts, treble, alto, tenor, bass, calling for harmony. The wind sighing in an æolian harp or sweeping through a forest tells of more than melody. On every hand in nature, from the first, elements of harmony proclaim their presence to the sensitive musical ear. And if the ear and brain be now more highly developed, the difference is one of degree, not of kind. While the ancients had, it is safe to assert, no such melody as the aria, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and no such harmony as that of the Oratorio of the Messiah, they had, we may believe, the rudiments of both. I have always found it difficult to credit the statements reiterated by so many musical authorities, that the ancients possessed melody but not harmony. As Ritter traces clearly modern harmony to its source, so Chappell, to whom I am herein also indebted, is convincing as to the existence of ancient harmony. From Egypt, where ancient instruments and musicians are so marvelously portrayed, he gives many interesting instances and illustrations. Harps and pipes with many notes and so held and played, it is said, as of necessity to make harmony; the hydraulic organ with keyboard; the evident cultivation of music for worship and social life; the representation of fourteen performers making up the vocal and instrumental establishment of an Egyptian gentleman of the older times; the curious caricatures in which Rameses the king, as a noble lion, leads with the lyre, while one courtier figures as a clumsy crocodile playing a sort of guitar, another as a seem-

ingly deceitful and slinking animal playing the double-pipes, and the fourth member of the quartette, awkward and lumbering, as a donkey with enormous ears, performs subserviently bass to the king's treble—from this and much more, Chappell reaches his conclusion. In answer to the question, Did the ancients practice harmony? he says, "Undoubtedly they did, even at the time of the building of the Pyramids; it is not a matter of doubt, but a mathematical certainty."

Recalling passages in the Greek and Latin classics, there is much to strengthen the conclusion. The declaration of Aristotle in his thirty-ninth Book of Problems is explicit: "All consonances are more pleasing than simple sounds; the sweetest is the octave." Such figures of speech as the following suggest an acquaintance with the intricacies of harmony as well as with the clear movement of melody. In the second book of his Republic Cicero writes: "For as in strings or pipes, so in vocal music, a certain consonance is to be maintained out of different sounds, which, if changed or made discrepant, educated ears cannot endure; and as this consonance, arising from the control of different voices, is yet proved to be concordant and agreeing, so, out of the highest, the lowest, the middle and the intermediate orders of men, as in sounds, the state becomes of accord through the controlled relation and by the agreement of dissimilar ranks; and that which in music is by musicians called harmony, the same is concord in a state." Seneca thus alludes to the mental influence of music in portions of his eighty-fourth and eighty-eighth Epistle: "When the array of singers has filled up every passage between the seats in the amphitheater, when the audience part is girt round by trumpeters, and all kinds of pipes and other instruments have sounded in concert from the stage, out of these differing sounds is harmony produced. Thus would I have it with our minds." "You teach how voices high and low make harmony together, how concord may arise from strings of varying sounds; teach rather how my mind may be in concord with itself and my thoughts be far from discord."

Music and worship of old were associated not only with the melody and harmony of voices and of instruments, but also with the movement of human forms and with the light of sacrificial fires and feasts with pyrotechnical display; so that, should we have the color symphonies and motion symphonies which art prophets promise, it would still be true that there is nothing new under the sun.

The definitions of musical terms among the Greeks, like their musical scales and their use of music, differ widely from ours. The orator, as we all know, took his note, "*tibiis dextris et sinistris*," from the musician, and intoned rather than spoke his oration. You may hear something of the same sort among preachers in Wales, or in the preaching tone into which, despite his disapprobation of music, a good Friend preacher often falls. Symphony was the expression for concords, while harmony included both theory and practice, both poetry and its musical accompaniment. Melody with the Greeks indicated inflections or undulations of the voice, whether in speech or rhythm; music included the science of numbers, mathematics, astronomy, and so much of education as to be called the cyclopedia of knowledge. The young Greek was taught music that he might learn also obedience, since in melody, harmony or symphony, all is disordered and displeasing unless the laws ordained of God are faithfully followed. Plato held that the influence of music in the education of youths was as a gale bearing from all sides health from blessed regions and wafting them on imperceptibly from boyhood into a likeness and love and sympathy with all fair and right reason; since more than all things does it penetrate into the innermost recesses of the soul, bearing along with it the love and perception of beauty and order and rhythm in whatever forms presented. Some years since, one of our greatest American scholars, in commenting upon Plato's conceptions, spoke of the importance of the early cultivation of music, since it is not only the most perfect of the arts but the most spiritual of the sciences, belonging to the three grand departments of knowledge,

pervading alike the physical, the metaphysical and the mathematical, and being in close alliance with the believing spirit; so that the neglect of music as an art and as a science is, he exclaimed, "one of the most serious defects in our modern system of early education; and we do verily believe that if the time occupied with puerile Peter Parley treatises on natural theology was devoted to Haydn and Mozart, it would furnish to our children a far more effectual security against infidelity; for whatever aids in the cultivation of a believing heart precludes those objections from ever obtaining an effectual lodgment in the soul." Among the ancients music found alike its earliest and its noblest use, as we have intimated, in connection with worship. The severe chant, the more melodious hymns or prayers and the dirges and choral songs, all were sacred to religion. According to Plutarch, the art at first subserved only religious purposes. "Theaters were unknown and music consisted of those sacred strains which were employed in the temple as a means of paying adoration to the Supreme Being." Anacharsis the younger, in his "Travels in Greece," written in the fourth century before the Christian era, states of the sacred hymns sung by choruses of youths, "that they are so harmonious, and so well seconded by the art of the poet, as frequently to draw tears from the greater part of the audience."

But the music of the past is one of the lost arts.

The downfall of the Roman Empire, the deluge of barbaric invasion, would have whelmed it utterly but for the Christian Church. From ancient shrines and synagogues, from the temple and, as we love to think, supremely from the "hallel" or paschal hymn sung by the Redeemer with his disciples at the last supper, primitive Christianity caught up and perpetuated the faint and fading sounds of sacred melody. Pliny in his well-known letters speaks of the hymns which Christians sang to Christ as God. Eusebius writes that "there was one common consent in chanting forth the praises of God. The performance of the music was exact, the rites of the Church were decent and majestic,

and there was a place appointed for those who sang psalms, for youths and virgins, old men and young."

At Milan, towards the close of the fourth century, rose the school of Ambrose. He collated or composed hymns and tunes and fixed, it is supposed, the four diatonic scales called the Ambrosian ecclesiastical keys. His friend Augustine, after hearing the music in his church, exclaimed, "The voices flowed in at my ears; truth was distilled into my heart, and the emotions of piety overflowed in sweet tears of joy." The close of the sixth century was made musically memorable from the more extended and enduring efforts of Gregory the Great, who added four more scales and his Gregorian chant, laboring ardently for musical education and progress. Schools in which music was taught were rapidly established in all parts of western Christendom. The biographer of Gregory declares that of all unpromising pupils the Gauls and Germans were the worst; "their rough voices roaring like thunder are not capable of soft modulations; for their throats, hardened by drink, cannot execute with flexibility what a tender melody requires; their tones are like the rumbling of a baggage wagon jolting down a mountain; instead of touching the hearts of the hearers, they only revolt them."

Charlemagne, as the eighth century was closing, rose to become the great patron of music; but still the singing was in unison, and simple melody was the substance of the music cultivated. True, Isidore of Seville, the friend of Gregory the Great, had written of harmony as the unison of simultaneous sounds, and gives rules for the use of harmony. Lines for musical notation were gradually introduced, instruments were improved, and at the opening of the tenth century harmony was brought into use by the good Flemish monk Hucbald.

But we may not follow further in this paper the growth, from its sacred cradle upward, of modern music, which is peculiarly the child of the Church. There was an early protest against it from a non-Protestant source. Pope John

XXII., at Avignon, in the year 1332, writes as deeply displeased with those who "are captivated with the new notes and new measures of the disciples of the new school and would rather have their ears tickled with semibreves and minims and such frivolous inventions than hear the ancient ecclesiastical chant." The great Reformer later on was of a different mind, declaring that by the Gospel, art should not be banished as some zealots desired, for all arts and principally music should be seen in the service of Him who gave and created them; since, as His greatest gift, music sets the soul at rest and places it in a most happy mood, thus proving that "the demon who creates such sad sorrows and ceaseless torments retires as fast before music as before divinity." "It is beneficial," continues Luther, "to keep youth in the continual practice of this art. A schoolmaster must know how to sing, otherwise I do not respect him." With a musical education and a musical ear, he felt that not only church doctrine, discipline and morals, but that church music also needed a reformation. His opinion of the old church music as rendered by drowsy monks and choristers found vent in the characteristic explosion, that it was "a dismal ass's bray." He was untiringly devoted to translating and collating suitable hymns and tunes. Words and music of his own composition have come down to us, such as the noble hymn, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott." He demanded that the words "be worthily expressed, not babbled or drawled, and that the masses join in the singing and pay devout attention." What a sententious summary for congregational singing! Luther was also right in attaching great importance to the words and thoughts of hymns and also to the popular character of the music. For the Reformation as a popular movement demanded that its hymns and tunes, like its translation of the Bible, should be so rendered as to be "understood of the people."

The chorale was a combination both of the old Gregorian and Ambrosian tone and also secular melody and harmony. By degrees the sacred song of the Protestant churches takes

on its distinctive and popular character, simple secular tunes as well as old hymn tunes being often adopted or adapted. A great step forward was made by assigning to the people the treble as the more distinct and leading part, while other voices, until the organ came into general use, sang the chords or harmony.

Luther had a hand in the preparation and wrote the preface of the first Protestant hymnal, put forth in 1524 by John Walter. Lucas Osiander rendered great service in 1586 by his book of "fifty spiritual songs and psalms set in counterpoint for four voices in such wise that a Christian congregation may join in the singing throughout." "I know well that composers are in the habit of assigning the chorale to the tenor; but if this be done, the chorale or tune cannot be distinguished from among the other parts, the common people cannot tell what psalm it is nor join in the singing. For this reason I have placed the chorale in the treble, so that it shall be recognized distinctly and every lay member can sing too." In England and Scotland, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, metrical psalms and hymns are found in general use. Brought in with the Reformation wave from Germany, they bore with them German chorales and other grand old tunes vastly superior to much of our modern sentimental or machine-made ecclesiastical music. This power of music over the hearts of the people has made it, in all great popular religious movements, the prevailing element in both public and social or family worship. At the Reformation, the singing of psalms, begun in one church in London, "did quickly spread itself not only through the city, but sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be six thousand people singing together." Genius, whether that of a great composer or of common sense—which Guizot has called the genius of humanity—catching and making vocal the aspirations of the popular heart, gives us "folk" song; and the best chorales, in clear and simple tones of regular cadence and movement, but of tender and melting or of rousing and inspiring power, may well be called Christian "folk"

song. The word *chorale*, a modification of the word *chorus*, suggests in its Greek derivation a vast volume of simple measured melody grandly accompanied. Should the science of music become so advanced that musical phrases, like the root forms of words, will disclose history, ties of lineage perhaps may then be traced between the Greek chorus and the German chorale or between the song of bondsmen in Egypt and the weird hymns of bondsmen in America. Who has heard the resounding plantation chorus, "Tell ole Pharaoh, let my people go!" without a mysterious feeling that the refrain was much older than our late "patriarchal institution"? Many such tunes, if rude in form, have the rare merit of naturalness and are full of power and pathos. The defect which strikes the ear is often that of unskilled rendering. The vociferous plantation bawler who, when checked, uttered the answer, "The good book says, *Hollard* be Thy name," but expressed the apparent sense of duty of many estimable and misguided persons as to congregational singing.

The lack of a musical ear, like color-blindness, is a great deprivation. Early musical education will, however, in great measure supply the defect, and instruction in singing in many parts of the Union has been the invariable associate of the day-school and the church. In the earliest days of colonial history, it is said that the "sounding isles of the dim woods rang with songs of lofty cheer," in which the Pilgrim fathers found utterance for faith and hope, undaunted by difficulties. The first publication of the New England free press was a psalm-book; and upon the solid basis of Sternhold and Hopkins how many an enduring musical edifice has been reared, until the Oratorio Society has taken the place of the winter singing-school, and the great organ of Boston's Music Hall that of the old-time tuning-fork, by which the hymns in the meeting-house were "pitched" in more senses than one. The popularity from Maine to India of music such as that of the Moody and Sankey hymns is, I believe, suscep-

tible, did space here permit, of an explanation which, without sacrificing principles of art, yet justifies the use of whatever will bring the Gospel in music home to those to whom better music is as yet unintelligible. Is not simple congregational singing one of the greatest of the undeveloped powers of Christendom? Sir Henry Cole not long since made a valuable suggestion to his vicar, somewhat as follows: "Doctor, the people are very fond of music, and I think if you were to invite them to come to the church once a week and allow them to take part, giving them as much simple music as they can well sing and understand, you will find they will come. Let all the seats be free; let there be a sermon, but not to exceed ten minutes; let them have five or six hymns or psalms to good old tunes; and if the hymns be accompanied by instruments properly administered I am sure it will produce a good effect." "So," says Sir Henry, "we had silver trumpets, two trombones, and two kettle-drums, and I declare, if they were the last words I had to speak, I never heard anything more solemn. My friend, the doctor, was the one who disturbed the regulations by preaching seventeen minutes instead of ten. The church was crowded, they sang their hymns, and each week the crowd increased. I met a member of Parliament at the church, and he said to me, 'I have been shedding tears all the service; I never heard anything more affecting.' The offertory paid the expenses. If you wish to take the people away from public houses and perhaps fatally uncomfortable homes, you might do it by a very simple process in your church, if you tried it."

Imagine such frequent services of song in Washington with members of Congress in tears! Surely to a much more general extent than at present those responsible in great measure for the prosperity and righteousness of the nation need to humble themselves before God in His house, that they may receive Divine illumination.

Why is not the Christendom of to-day guiding the art of

the world, crowding canvas with noble productions, producing works of sculpture surpassing the masterpieces of heathen art, erecting cloud-piercing spires and long-drawn aisles and vast cathedrals, gathering into noble monumental and useful structures the scattered wealth of our needlessly multiplied churches and of our feeble or questionable church architecture? Because, without Christian unity, the heart of Christendom languishes, being "divided against itself."

Piled up in the principal cemeteries of our cities, you may find monuments of marble and carved stone and metal unartistically designed and wasting a wealth of material which, were we Christians united, would have built cathedrals all over the land and endowed colleges and memorial hospitals and schools, dwarfing the architectural achievements of the past. For we have added resources of engineering and construction and material, just as the multitude of modern musical instruments opens up a new world, as it were, for the progress of music; while the inspiration of the artist would not be lacking were Christendom united. For, this time is not ripe, and we, like our forefathers, are not worthy to see that day; we might be tempted to do as they did who used the strength of unity for purposes of religious oppression and persecution. Better perish Christian unity and united effort and all triumph of sacred art, than that liberty should again be lost! The world must wait until music, teaching us harmony despite diversity, and liberty as consistent with law, can pave the way for the restoration of Christian unity. Then united patronage and wealth and the true Christian "time-spirit" will make the Church mistress of all the arts, as she has been already the nursing mother of music, which is supremely the art of the nineteenth century and of the future. Music and worship cannot be divorced, nor left to live but coldly together, without injury alike to art and to religion. Winterfeld dates the decline of sacred art from the time when it "con-

tracted that fatal taint" which degrades it to the service of sensual pleasure.

If music and its sister arts owe much to the fostering and ennobling influence of the Christian Church, it is equally true that, in view of popular religious movements and of exalted services of worship, the Church also owes a debt to music which it should endeavor to repay by every means in its power. Let the Church then seek to advance musical culture and to encourage the production and execution of the greatest musical works. Since as a nation we are neither Anglo-Saxon nor Oriental nor Occidental exclusively, since all peoples gather here to become one under one government, the church music of the future cannot be exclusively of any one of the old schools, but must combine their excellences and grow from its own soil as they did from theirs. Even now but in the infancy of its Christian civilization, for this nation in this broad land and in the illimitable future, what triumphs may not sacred art achieve!

To pursue the subject of music and worship further would lead us far beyond our limits into the great tone-world of modern life and thought. The marvelous progress of modern music presents one of the most brilliant and fascinating chapters of art history. The achievements in the range and compass and multiplication of instruments and in the knowledge and application of the laws of sound, form a grand and startling chapter in the revelations of science. While treating the relations of the fine arts, and especially of music as an art, to Christianity, we have yet another topic worthy of a separate paper. Of Christianity it has been well said that while no art is more fit emblem of her work, none can more efficiently aid that work in the present day than music. What, then, ought to be done, and done at once, for the present and future of American Church Music? As conducive to true progress, a principle should be enforced which is not new but which has been greatly neglected—that church music should express the worthiest

worship which we can render to God and should tend to the highest edification of the worshiper. In proposing practical measures, the suggestion most commonly made is, to abolish the quartette choir. Not the number of performers, but the spirit of display often seen in quartette and similarly constituted choirs, and the unseemly music generally chosen, are the objectionable things. But the quartette choir has been often deserving of the highest praise for the painstaking and devout fidelity of its members. At worst, it is but one of the steps from a defective past to a better future. That which we deprecate is the tendency to exhibit individual talent rather than to exalt worship. The effort and the outlay seem oftenest directed, not to the edification of the hearer but simply to the performance of elaborate music, generally unskillfully composed and defectively rendered. I have heard at the close of a sermon on the Last Judgment the beautiful hymn, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," in which the whole congregation could have joined and thus have deepened the impression of the sermon, rendered as a solo to a flippant secular melody.

By the adoption of a good hymnal giving both words and music, by frequently using a few of the noblest hymns till they become beloved and familiar as household words; by leading the melody clearly and distinctly either by a trumpet or by the human voice, by making the Sunday-school in some measure and in the best sense of the term a Christian singing-school, congregational singing can be developed. Psalm or hymn singing is a mode of worship in which Christians of every name can unite. We lament the lack of Christian unity. There is ample room for an effort towards its restoration on this broad basis of co-operation. Choir unions or great gatherings for culture in the art of spiritual song are almost everywhere practicable. And Christian unity would thus secure incidental influences of no slight value; for while in melody we have the succession of single sounds in obedience to law, even as individuals and

churches follow some particular rule or use, so in harmony we have the blending of all in one as in the universal ever-living Church of Christ, in which, without the surrender of individuality, all may harmonize in love to one another and in filial obedience to the perfect will of God. Thus music in worship conduces to Christian unity, and tends to the progress of true catholicity.

Yet other Christian uses of music as connected with worship, together with practical suggestions as to musical training and the development of correct musical taste, are too numerous and varied to be mentioned even with a passing word. I am convinced that much more rapid and satisfactory progress would be secured if, taking a lesson from what has been well done by others at home and abroad, we should give systematic attention to church music, not only in our schools and colleges but especially in our theological seminaries, so that the clergyman should enter upon his professional work furnished not only with the authority but with the educated ability to criticise with judgment and to improve by his own intelligent influence the music of his cure. With God's blessing here as elsewhere, true progress depends upon man's effort, for man is the crown of things, and at his best estate he is the embodiment of harmony.

When as a theme there was suggested the American Church music of the future, the first impulse was to essay the rôle of the prophet or magician, building in imagination the ideal cathedral as the sublimest work of American architecture, and then attempting a detailed description of its choral choirs and resounding services of song as the type of the American Church music of the future. The vision faded and the presumptuous thought was rebuked as there recurred the ceaseless round of practical duty and daily drudgery. While this article is, therefore, little more than a repetition of what I have elsewhere sought to enunciate and enforce, I look forward to some possible leisure as the desired opportunity for a more complete and suggestive dis-

cussion of the subject. By the courtesy of the Rector of Old Trinity, New York, a parish to which lovers of devout music are indebted, I was invited not long since to attend a service in which the principal numbers from the "Choral Service" entitled "A suggestion for the use of the Church in America," were to be rendered. Although unable to be present, the value of the occasion was apparent as hastening the better era of American church music. A wise eclecticism here, as elsewhere, will take all that is best from all schools and quarters of the old world, blending it in the music of the new; musical truths and discoveries, instruments and compositions of the past, being the alphabet of the ideal American church music of the future. Earth's music at its best is but the echo of heaven's harmonies; while even now the simplest hymns or reverent lisping of childhood, as the poet's lines suggest, may wake the responsive adoration of ministering spirits and of listening angels, whose privilege it is, while loving and serving the children of men, to behold the face of our Father in heaven.

A little child,

A little, meek-faced, quiet village child
Sat singing by her cottage door at eve
A low sweet song. No human ear
Caught the faint melody. No human eye
Beheld the upturned aspect of the smile
That wreathed her innocent lips, the while they breathed
The oft-repeated burden of the hymn,
Praise God! Praise God!

A seraph by the Throne

In the full glory stood. With eager hands
He smote the golden harp-strings, till a flood
Of harmony on the celestial air
Welled forth unceasing. Then with a great voice
He sang the Holy, Holy, evermore,
Lord God Almighty! And the eternal courts
Thrilled with the rapture, and the hierarchies,
Angel and rapt archangel, throbbed and burned
With vehement adoration.

But even then
Was heard a voice float upward from afar,
A weak and childlike voice, faint but how sweet!
That blended with the seraphs' rushing stream
Even as a fountain's music with the roar
Of the reverberate thunder. Loving smiles
Lit up the beauty of each angel's face,
As ever and anon was heard again
The simple burden of the hymn, Praise God! Praise God!

ELIPHALET NOTT POTTER.

"O HOLY CHURCH."

A SONG FOR EASTER MORNING.

O Holy Church, but yesternight
In dust thy robes were trailing ;
The dew was heavy on thy head,
And thou thy Lord bewailing.

O Holy Church, the gates are burst ;
The seal could hold no longer ;
The closing stone was adamant,
The God within was stronger.

O Holy Church, this radiant morn
Thy richest banquet spread ;
Thy risen Lord a-hungered comes,
To bless and share thy bread.

O Holy Church, dear Bride of Christ,
With flowers bedeck thine altar ;
Array thy courts in brightest sheen,
Intone thy richest psalter.

O Mother dear, who all thy Lord's
Rich graces dost inherit,
Now bid the loud TERSANCTUS rise,
To Father, Son and Spirit. AMEN.

H. C.

BETHLEHEM, PENN.

OF DIVORCE

ABOUT the middle of the first Christian century, while as yet the Roman Empire was in almost utter darkness, the pagan philosopher, Seneca, said that "no woman was ashamed of divorce." It was a commentary upon the moral condition of Rome. Seneca meant the statement, no doubt, to be an expression of the utter degradation of the moral sentiment then obtaining. In this year of grace, and in this Christian land it may, perhaps, be too sweeping a statement to make; but that it may be said at no distant day all the signs of the times give reason to fear.

For various reasons a full consideration of the laws of the various States of the Union bearing upon marriage and divorce is not possible. Even if it were, this would not be the proper place, nor could the space be allowed. No one, however, who has given the subject consideration, can doubt that, for the past twenty-five years, the statutes of nearly all the States have kept pace with, if they have not accelerated, the moral deterioration which demands a practically unlimited freedom of divorce. In that period it would almost

appear that there has been an organized effort to corrupt the public conscience. A great body of people seem to be pledged to do everything possible to bring marriage itself into contempt, and to pander to the lowest passions by theories of free love, spiritual affiliations and the like. Truly, also, in no other Christian age could there have existed, perhaps in no other Christian land could there now exist, such a blot upon Christian civilization as the law-defying polygamous power reigning triumphant at Utah. Now, it would appear, that out of thirty-six members of the Legislature who are paid out of the national Treasury, thirty-two hold high offices in the Mormon "Church," and are bound by their sacred oaths to obey that Church in both secular and spiritual matters. Twenty-eight out of the thirty-six are living in polygamy. Seven belong to the "twelve apostles," some of them having five and six wives. Seven others are Mormon bishops, and five others are elders, in the Mormon Church. It is not possible that this state of things could exist at all were it not for the wretched views which so largely prevail with regard to the true nature and sanctities of the marriage relation.

Owing to this low estimation in which marriage is held, moreover, the very startling fact is presented, that the native Protestant population of the land is, to say the least, not increasing in the ratio which ought to characterize it. The sacramental character of marriage among Romanists keeps alive high and holy views of the relation, and, of course, prevents divorce. It also prevents, which is declared to be fearfully prevalent among Protestants, the awful crime of infanticide (antenatal). With many of the native population—and the number is said to be increasing—it appears to be considered something shameful to have children, at least to have more than one or two. Large families are rapidly becoming exceptional. Yet they are the rule among foreigners. The frightful consequences of the crime referred to, to the physical and moral health of the women of the country, cannot long be ignored. Nor is it possible long to

close our eyes to the woeful conditions which freedom of divorce entails.

In the early history of our nation divorces were granted, for the most part, only by the legislatures. Now, almost wholly, control over divorces is vested in the hands of certain judges, or lower courts, with the largest discretionary powers in most cases.

What a change has been wrought may be gathered when it is considered that before the war no appeal ever came before the Legislature of South Carolina for a divorce. After the war they began to be granted quite freely; and under the new constitution a very wide latitude is permitted. From 1671 to the Revolution, more than a hundred years, no divorces were granted in New York. After that only the Legislature could grant them for a long period. Now they can be had almost for the asking—the only attempt to conserve morality lying in the prohibition of the guilty party, in the case of adultery, from marrying again during the lifetime of the innocent complainant. But how easily that prohibition can be evaded is very well understood. The laws governing divorces are to-day, in almost all the States, extremely loose—infamously so in some. The grounds range from adultery to incompatibility of temper, or, as in Indiana, for any cause for which the court shall deem it proper to grant a divorce. Thus it is left to the absolute discretion of the court—which often means a single judge—whether the divorce shall be granted. In Iowa, divorce may be had when the parties cannot live together in peace and harmony. What a door that opens to the dissolution of the marriage tie! What can marriage become under such circumstances other than legalized prostitution? In some States, abandonment for one year *or less* may lead to divorce. In many States, notably, if there be no error in the published statements, in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Alabama, Indiana, and, practically, Massachusetts, parties divorced may marry again without let or hindrance. In

Massachusetts there is indeed a law requiring the consent of the judge where the divorce is not for adultery, but the request is rarely denied. Even if it were, it is easy to step into another State and be married. The theory is that marriage in one State is valid in all; as it is the recognized law now that a divorce, for whatever cause, in one State, is valid in all. But, worst of all, in certain States the guilty party, if adultery be the crime, is free, not only to marry again, but to marry the partner in guilt. Is not this, to all intents and purposes, a premium upon sin? In New England alone there are now some 2000 families broken up annually by divorce. In Massachusetts, counting the entire population, there is a divorce for about every twenty-four marriages, or, counting out the foreign element, which knows little of divorce, one to every fourteen. Rhode Island has a divorce to every twelve marriages; Connecticut one to eleven; Maine one to ten. This is surely a fearful condition. It is a great falling away, also, from earlier and purer times, when divorce was limited, almost universally, to adultery or impotence, and when even in these cases divorce was costly and very difficult to obtain. No moralist can fail to see that this condition must undermine the whole idea of the family, and sap the foundations of morality in the family and in the State.

In view of all this, it may be well to reconsider the Scriptural doctrine of marriage and divorce.

It is recorded of marriage in the beginning, "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone: I will make him a help meet for him." "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife: and they two shall be one flesh." Gen. ii. 18, 24. The Saviour's reference to this will be recalled: And He answered and said unto them, "Have ye not read, that He which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Therefore they are no more (*never more—οὐκέτι*)

twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Matt. xix. 4, 5, 6. Here, then, is the ordinance of marriage as established by God. It is from the outset designed by the Creator, and made a Divine relation. It is for one man and one woman. They are to be united so closely as to constitute *one flesh*—an expression denoting the "essential unity and higher wholeness of man in man and wife." Monogamy, it will be observed, and not polygamy, has been established; and in this relation thus consummated between one man and one woman the idea of indissolubility is inherent. It will be found that this indissolubility is associated with the married state all through the elder Scriptures. The relation can be dissolved only by violence or by death.

It is acknowledged, of course, that this sublime conception of marriage was not retained. But whatever obscured it was abnormal, and any departure from its conditions was in wickedness. If polygamy obtained among the Hebrews, or concubinage, or freedom of divorce (and all these were known among them), it was not because it was right, but in defiance of the right, and was permitted by their law-givers and prophets only because of the "hardness of their hearts," and the wildness and darkness of the times. The Saviour asserted this with regard to divorces; but at the same time asserted, that "from the beginning it was not so"—that is, was not so allowed by any law of God. Matt. xix. 8.

The Old Testament calls marriage a "covenant." "Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously; yet is she thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant." Mal. ii. 14. "I swore unto thee, and entered into a covenant with thee, and thou becamest mine." Ezek. xvi. 8. The relation between God and His people is a covenant, and that covenant is declared indissoluble. He says: "I will never break my covenant with you." Judges ii. 1. "My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips." Ps. lxxxix. 34. So far as in the

nature of the case it can be, the relation between husband and wife is like that between God and His children. "I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord." Jer. xxxi. 32. "Thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of Hosts is His name; and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel; the God of the whole earth shall He be called." Is. liv. 5. Steadfast, immovable, eternal is this relation. The people of God (His Church) are His. The wife is the husband's. "The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church." Eph. v. 23.

In this light, freedom of divorce among the Hebrews can gather for itself no Divine authority.

Very much might be written, as very much is involved, on both sides concerning this relationship between God and man, between husband and wife, and between Christ and the Church. But space will permit little more than a reference. God cannot forsake His people, and remain true and just and loving. So, under Hebrew conception, the husband cannot forsake his wife (no law permitted the wife to put away her husband), and remain without sin. By the covenant, moreover, God puts Himself under obligation (this is said with all reverence) to do all that is possible for His children. His children are, of course, under obligation to acknowledge, and love, and walk with Him. So, as the husband is bound to do all that he can for his wife, the wife is to recognize and discharge the duties of her relation faithfully and lovingly. The breach of the covenant, indeed, between the people and God is likened to the violation of the marriage vow. To break with God is not only idolatry, but *adultery*. It is also more—it is uttermost uncleanness and abomination. See Ezek. xvi and xxiii. Also Hosca v. 3, 4; vi. 10. Ezekiel is emphatic: "They have committed adultery . . . with their idols have they committed adultery."

It is claimed, however, that the principle of divorce is conceded in the Hebrew Scriptures. The following passages are advanced, among others, in support of this view:

"Thus saith the Lord, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away?" Is. l. 1. "For all the causes whereby backsliding Israel committed adultery I had put her away and given her a bill of divorce; yet her treacherous sister Judah feared not, but went and played the harlot also." Jer. iii. 8. But a careful study will show that this language, *and all such*, is by way of accommodation. The Jews, in the hardness of their hearts, as is granted, were in the habit of divorcing their wives, in accordance with the customs of the nations about them—nations they were forbidden to imitate in any way. It is in view of this that such words are spoken—in no way to sanction or justify the principle of divorce. This must be further evident, since, as a fact, God did *not* divorce His people. He did not take another people to be in the same peculiar relationship to Him. The treacherous sister of Israel, Judah, feared not God when He punished His people Israel by a temporary hiding of His face and withdrawal of Himself from them, but played the harlot also. Yet God had not two wives—the sisters Judah and Israel. The language, therefore, can only be that of accommodation, and was so understood by the prophets and the people.

There came to be almost unlimited freedom of divorce among the Jews, and this condition very materially deepened the moral degradation into which they were forever sinking. This is very clearly recognized by the last of the prophets. Malachi writes: "Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which He loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange God. The Lord will cut off the man that doeth this, the master and the scholar, out of the tabernacles of Jacob, and him that offereth an offering unto the Lord of Hosts. And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that He regardeth not the offering any more, or receiveth it with good will at your hands. Yet ye say,

Wherefore? Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet she is thy companion and the wife of thy covenant. And did He not make one? Yet had He the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That He might seek a goodly seed. Therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth. For the Lord, the God of Israel, saith that He hateth putting away: for one covereth violence with his garment, saith the Lord of Hosts: therefore take heed to your spirit, that ye deal not treacherously." ii. 11-19. The best modern scholarship rejects the unnatural marginal reading, "if he hate her, put her away," in verse 16, and renders the words, in the same verse, "for one covereth violence with his garment," "one (who putteth his wife away) covereth his garment with violence." To deal treacherously with the wife of one's youth is the divorcing her and taking another. It is the occasion of great wickedness and misery. It is associated with "tears, and weeping, and crying out." God makes of twain one new flesh, that the seed may be goodly. This divorce prevents. The putting away is abomination, is a crime, is violence to all pure conception of the marriage relation. The covenant should not be broken, but should be forever an holy covenant. To break it, or to violate it, is what God hates, and for which He will not hold guiltless the transgressors.

Turning to the New Testament, it will be found that it differs in no essential from the fundamental idea of the Old. The Saviour certainly recognized the sacredness and the indissolubility of marriage—the union of one man and one woman. When the "Pharisees also came unto Him, tempting Him, and saying unto Him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? He answered, and said unto them, Have ye not read, that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? *What there-*

fore God hath joined together let not man put asunder. They say unto Him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, *Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts,* suffered you to put away your wives, but *from the beginning it was not so.* And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marryeth her which is put away committeth adultery." Matt. xix. 3-9. The Saviour, it would appear, thus utterly repudiates the law or custom which had been developed from the sanction of divorce (under certain conditions) by Moses—that sanction itself, at the most, granted "because of the hardness" of Hebrew hearts. When Moses permitted divorce at all, among the peoples of the world all around the Jews absolute freedom of divorce reigned—no doubt a legitimate result of the idea of absolute property in the woman by the man. Moses permitted divorce, but it was for "unclean-ness," the "nakedness of a thing," found in the wife. It is more than probable that this has reference to something antedating marriage, some sin of shame, of lewdness, invalidating the marriage relation. It was a mercy then simply to put her away, rather than to subject her to a severer penalty. At any rate, the Lord asserts marriage indissoluble save for one thing, and that with especial reference to the Jewish Law.

A little closer examination at this point may serve to remove a very general misconception. The idea prevails, that the Saviour prohibits divorces *except for adultery*. For that He not only permits, but, as it were, commands them. But, in the quotation above—and there is only one other passage where divorce upon *any* ground is sanctioned, viz., Matt. v. 31, 32—it is not adultery, but quite another sin, that is allowed to be just ground for breaking the marriage bond. In the quotation itself a sharp distinction is drawn between the two offenses by the use of different words; and in this respect the common version is true to the original,

πορνεία means inconstancy before marriage. Neither in the Septuagint, the New Testament, nor in early profane writings, so far as I am aware, does it ever properly mean adultery. On the other hand, *μοιχεία* means adultery, and is always distinguished from *πορνεία*. The corresponding Hebrew words, also, carefully make the same distinction. זָנָה (Zanah) or תִּזְנֹת (Taznuth) and נָאֵף (Naaph) are never confounded. The latter is not used of the unmarried, nor the former of a wife.

The Son of God, then, for one cause only, and that not adultery, appears to sanction divorce. It may be noticed, however, that this cause has a peculiar limitation. This exceptional case, in which divorce seems to be allowed, is not spoken of anywhere else in the New Testament. Everywhere else divorce appears to be *absolutely* prohibited. Inspiration is not contradictory, nor are the teachings of Jesus Christ ever in opposition. There is reason to believe that S. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Aramaic for the Jews of Palestine. Its complexion is thus especially Jewish, as is not (in the same sense, or to the same degree) that of SS. Mark and Luke, written in Greek for the Gentiles. According to Judaism, a bride discovered to be not a virgin was to be stoned to death. This law, by usage, if not by enactment, became modified, but never beyond the absolute putting away, with a bill of divorcement. This was on the ground that the marriage was invalid from the first, because of the previous sin of the woman—to the Jewish mind the most fearful of which a woman could be guilty. It is to be considered, also, that as every male birth in Israel enwrapped the Messianic hope, it was of the last importance that that birth should be pure and legitimate. To dissolve the bonds, ignorantly assumed, by sending away the polluted woman, and not stoning her, was an act of mercy and grace. This it was, no doubt, that Jesus had in mind; and in calling the attention of the Pharisees to this only cause for divorce He thereby emphatically condemned the freedom of divorce

which found place among His countrymen. But when the Evangelists S. Mark and S. Luke deal with this subject for those not Jews, they, knowing the mind of Christ upon the sacredness and indissolubility of the marriage bond, so record this incident that there is no room left for divorce. Even this exceptional cause is disallowed—so far, at least, as appears to the contrary.

The reading in S. Mark is: "And the Pharisees came to Him, and asked Him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting Him. And He answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, *For the hardness of your hearts* he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." x. 2-9. Then, when the disciples came privately to the Master, to gather an explanation of His statement, the absolute interpretation of His views is given to them in the words, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery." x. 10, 11, 12. To the same effect S. Luke reads, "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery." xvi. 18. Thus, according to the Gospel, the man divorcing his wife, and marrying another, commits adultery; the woman divorcing her husband, and marrying another, commits adultery; the man marrying a divorced wife, or a woman marrying a divorced husband, commits adultery; and so there is sin upon every side.

The world may not be willing to acknowledge it; but in the light of Christianity, and in the sight of God, marriage is sacred, inviolable and indissoluble.

A little careful reflection, it would seem, ought to establish this. Even adultery, fearful a sin as all must allow it to be, cannot destroy (and ought not to be allowed to try to destroy) a relation which is not of man's ordaining, but is the ordinance of God. To take other ground is virtually to say that man, or man's act, can put asunder what God has put together. It is not in man's power to dissolve marriage by any law of God, since no such law can be found; but, unfortunately, by the law of man the dissolution is possible and actual. We have, therefore, even adultery sometimes committed for the very purpose of obtaining a divorce—in order, also, to consummate a marriage with the very partner in the sin. Thus are families broken and ruined, and children branded with marks of shame.

S. Paul says, "Let every man have" —*i.e.*, have at command, *retain*, ἐχέτω, his own wife, and let every woman have (ἐχέτω) her own husband." 1 Cor. vii. 2. "And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart," *i.e.*, dis sever herself, χωρισθῆναι ("what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," χωρίζεω) "from her husband; but, and if she depart (χωρισθῇ), let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away, *i.e.*, divorce, ἀφίεναι, his wife." 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11. All this is in harmony with the Gospels. The Apostle evidently looks upon marriage as indissoluble. Neither party may rightly break it. Separation, if it takes place, must not be absolute; but forever must the door of reconciliation be left open. It is not a little remarkable that the Greek ἀφίστημι gives us not only the word for a "bill of divorcement," ἀποστάσιον, but the word for *apostasy*. As apostasy from God is a fearful thing, so is it a fearful thing to apostatise from a wife or a husband. As is the relation between the Lord Jesus Christ Himself and the Church, so is the marriage relation. "We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife,

and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." Eph. v. 30, 31, 32.

The evidence from Holy Scripture seems to point in one direction only, *viz.*, that *for no cause whatever is divorce justifiable*. It may not be possible to press this conclusion; but if not, then it is undeniable that upon Biblical and Christian principles no divorces are sanctioned except for "fornication." That, however, has been shown to be something other than the sin of adultery. If, notwithstanding, it be insisted that adultery shall be the interpretation given to fornication, then for this sin only is a divorce ever to be granted.

In the light of what has been written, how fearfully low are the present views of marriage among the people! How demoralized must be public sentiment! Who can measure the wickedness involved in thus loosening the bonds of matrimony! Who can measure the wrong to men, women and children! It too often degrades women to the condition of concubines, and brands with more or less of shame the unfortunate offspring of these dissevered marriages. It degrades marriage in its Divine idea, for it makes it the lowest kind of a merely *civil* contract. But a civil contract, in any just sense, it is not and never was intended to be. All that the civil power has a right to do, is to hedge around its sanctities, that they may not violently be invaded. Marriage is ordained of God "in the beginning." It thus existed before Society, and before the State. Marriage does not depend upon the State—the State depends upon marriage. Marriage is at the basis of the State. As God has instituted marriage, and made the relation a Divine one, He has intrusted its sanction and solemnization, from the beginning, to the Church. It is to the Church that the world must look for the preservation of the inviolate sanctities of the marriage bonds. As has been stated, marriage is likened to the relation between God and His covenant people, and between Christ and His Church. God never forsakes His

people—they may not forsake Him. Jesus Christ never forsakes His Church—His Church may not forsake Him. The form for the solemnization of matrimony requires the minister to declare, “that if any persons are joined together otherwise than as God’s Word doth allow, their marriage is not lawful.” In the light of these words, and of what has been written, innumerable marriages (of divorced persons) are invalid! To be a party to such marriages there should be a refusal, not simply when the facts are notorious, but by faithful endeavor to ascertain the possible impediment.

The world looks to the Church to protect, by voice and act, against the awful sacrilege of the married state that prevails, and that threatens still to prevail more largely. That under no circumstances should married people be allowed to separate, is not claimed. In some cases separation *must* take place. *Separation, if need be—not divorce.* There should be no irrevocable rending of the marriage tie. There should remain an open door of reconciliation, without the solemn farce of a re-marriage. If the State assumes, as it has assumed (most unrighteously) to regulate the conditions of marriage, and to loose its bonds at pleasure, and upon any grounds that may seem well to it, then let the State see to the re-marriage. The Church should refuse to be a party to the sin. The minister of religion is not the servant of the State, but of God. He is the conserver, nay, the censor of public morals—the morals of the State, as well as of individuals. The Church is before the State, and higher than the State, as God is before all, and higher than all. The Priest of the Church is to obey God rather than man.

A. ST. JOHN CHAMBRÉ.

II.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN SWEDEN.

I. The Election of Gustavus to the Throne.

THE enthusiasm with which the Estates sanctioned the proposition of Canute, the Provost of the Cathedral of Westeras, that Gustavus should be elected king, might have animated him to accept an office, the enormous difficulties of which he could not but have foreseen, but which his patriotic love of country would not allow him to evade. Even if he had contemplated the task with passionate repugnance, he could not have found it in his heart to decline a position which his own agency had made it necessary that some one should fill, and which he must have known could not have been filled so worthily and efficiently by any one as by himself. It is not often that a crown has been pressed upon any one with such genuine and affectionate importunity. The following is the account of this remarkable scene given by Vertot:

“The speaker of the Estates (Provost Canute) represented to the Assembly the absolute necessity of proceeding speedily to the election of a king. Then he employed all his art in painting forth the qualities of an excellent Prince, one

that was vigilant, laborious, full of courage, and endowed with a sufficient stock of valor and prudence to oppose the unjust pretensions of the Danes to the Swedish crown: that in this description they might see and take notice of the picture of Gustavus. He concluded that after all the services which the Administrator had done to the State, and the illustrious proofs he had given of his extraordinary endowments and virtues, they were obliged, in gratitude to him, and in justice to the interests of those they represented, to confer the royal title and authority upon their benefactor.

"This discourse was received with an universal applause. The nobility and commons, transported with their zeal and affection, prevented the senators and deputies. The whole assembly proclaimed with a loud voice, 'Gustavus, King of Sweden!' It was impossible to gather the votes, or to proceed according to the usual forms observed in such cases. His praises were echoed through the whole convention; he was styled the savior and deliverer of his country. The peasants and burghers mingling confusedly with the deputies, neglecting all marks of distinction, and even forgetting the respect they owed to the senators and other lords, struggled and crowded to approach the king. The name of Gustavus was repeated by every mouth; he was the object of every eye; and all in general endeavored to express their joy at his election, and to congratulate their own happiness, in having an opportunity to contribute to his advancement."

II. Difficulties of the King's Position.

The town of Strengness was itself a proof of one of the enormous difficulties—the *desolation of the country*—which he was called upon immediately to confront. It had become almost a ruin, through the ravages of civil war. This condition of the town, suggestive of that of the whole country, had impressed the council with the conviction that there was no choice but between utter national ruin, and the overthrow of the tyranny of Christian. This conviction was deepened when Gustavus made his public entry into Stockholm.

Half of the houses were empty ; and of the population of the city on the accession of Christian only one fourth remained. To fill up the gap the king invited the citizens of other towns to settle there, and offered them great inducements to do so. This invitation he was compelled to renew twelve years after, "seeing," he said, "that Stockholm had not revived from the days of King Christian." And these were specimens of the condition of most of the towns and rural estates of the lower and more populous portion of the kingdom.

The power of the great lords was another obstacle in the way of the speedy settlement of the kingdom. One effect of the union of Sweden to Denmark had been greatly to increase their influence. According to the terms of the union the Council, in the absence of the king, governed the kingdom. As members of the Council the great nobles who composed it had constant opportunities to increase their exclusive privileges, to enlarge their estates, and to become more independent of the supreme but distant authority of the king. Many of the crown fiefs had been appropriated by them to their own use, and were thus in the inevitable process of passing into their permanent possession. Many of the difficulties of the king arose from this source. With characteristic foresight he saw that this contest with the nobles for the recovery of the crown and Church lands would at once arise ; and accordingly he availed himself of the first enthusiasm created by his wonderful success to propose to the Council "whether he might not freely dispose of the crown fiefs, as the law book declares, without ill will?" During the union, and especially during the long absence of King John, the kingdom seemed about to be parceled out into principalities, under a few of the great magnates who were most powerful in the Council. This state of things it was impossible for the king immediately to change. The General Council at Stockholm had constituted branches in the various provinces, in which some members of the Central Council sat and exercised a predominant

influence. Thus Gustavus found himself at once confronted with an oligarchy which had spread a net-work of influence and of organization over all the kingdom, and the members of which had possessed themselves of a large portion of the Royal domains. These it was necessary to recover without exciting to revolt the powerful lords, whose loyalty was the condition of continued possession of the throne. It was an immense difficulty. How wisely, by personal influence, by intimidation, and by the stern exercise of power, where it was called for, he so far overcame it as to recover most of the crown lands, and to become, not the mere agent of the great lords, but their master, we shall see in the progress of the history.

The turbulent independence of the people caused the king in the commencement of his reign frequent and most vexatious difficulties. The circumstances in which the people had been called to intervene in opposition to the Danish kings, had made them exacting and turbulent and difficult to satisfy. This was especially the case with the Dalesmen. At the call of Englebert they had expelled the tyrant Ericson, and made their leader Regent of the kingdom. From that period, proud of their success, they had put forth many pretensions. The native Regents, Englebert, and the three successive Sturés, and the one native king, Charles Canutson, were compelled to profess to depend wholly on their support. In order to protect themselves from rival aspirants to their office, they found it necessary to flatter and conciliate the people, by acknowledging their dependence on them, and by conformity to their democratic tastes and habits. The threatened partition of the kingdom among the great lords led to a counter-development and manifestation of popular power. During the troubled times, when the Danish government was powerless, the people in the provinces often assumed self-government, took up arms and formed alliances when they were dissatisfied with the local lords or authorities placed over them by the Regent. This was the case more frequently in upper than in lower Swe-

den. Hence, in consequence of the immense services which the Dalecarlians, and Northern Sweden generally, had rendered to Gustavus, he found them subsequently insubordinate, clamorous for special privileges, and unwilling to bear their proportionate burdens of taxation and of military service.

The influence of the Church too was decidedly adverse to the person and policy of the king. The Church was in fact a foreign power established in the kingdom, rather than a constituent part of it. Its great dignitaries had generally been partisans of the Union; because they received their appointments from the Pope, through the influence or dictation of the Danish crown. The lower clergy, dependent on their superiors, assumed the same position. They had always been obnoxious to the patriotic party. Englebert was violently hostile to the Bishops, and the three Regents Sturé were constantly involved in contests with them. The execrated Archbishop Trollé opened the way for the tyrant Christian to the throne. In the war which ensued the exasperation against the Bishops, the clergy and the monks found expression in many acts of violence. Their great riches furnished a tempting resource to Gustavus to supply the needs of his army; and the licentiousness of the priests and monks seemed to him to condone reprisals for the outrages which the nation had for centuries endured without redress.

But the most immediately pressing of all the difficulties of the king were *financial*. He had been compelled to borrow money and secure ships and men and materials from Lubeck to carry on the war. That sharp commercial town pressed him hard and over-promptly for payment. On the very day of his election as king, a deputation from Lubeck demanded an immediate liquidation of his debt to the city. He requested an extension of the time. This was granted only on hard conditions, for he had distinctly pledged himself for the payment so soon as the government should be definitely settled. He was compelled to agree that Sweden

should conclude no treaty with Christian or any other power without the consent of Lubeck ; that on the surrender of Stockholm and Calmar, all goods found in them which the Lubeck and Dantzic merchants should claim upon oath as theirs, because not paid for, should be restored to them ; and that the wares of the same cities should be admitted free of duty ; and that the whole foreign trade of Sweden should be confined to the Hanse towns. It was a most ungenerous advantage taken of the embarrassing circumstances in which the king was placed ; and the demand that the government should be made responsible—for that in effect it was—for the unfulfilled obligations of private merchants, was unprecedented and grossly unjust. But the king was not in a position openly to resist these demands. In an address and appeal to the people, Gustavus stated the urgent necessities of his position, with a view no doubt to prepare them for and to vindicate in advance the radical measure which he was about to adopt. It is an indication of his personal feeling towards the Church, that he did not hesitate to lay his hands upon that portion of her wealth which was regarded as most sacred, and the appropriation of which to secular purposes would be considered by the devout children of the Church, not robbery only, but the grossest sacrilege. The Church was in possession of two thirds of the landed property of the kingdom ; but as that could not be made immediately available for his urgent needs, he resolved to appropriate the sacred vessels used in the public services, and the reliquaries, and the gold and gems, the gifts of kings and nobles, in the treasuries of churches and of convents. It is a striking proof of the realized absolute necessity of his government to their national existence, that such a measure could have been carried out without a revolt upon the part of the people, who had thus far shown no desire to throw off the Roman yoke. It seems scarcely credible that in the then condition of the public conscience, the following demands could have been obeyed : "We therefore enjoin you," says this document in the address to the clergy and

the commissions appointed to carry out the royal will, "without delay to search in your churches and monasteries, both in towns and in the adjoining country, and observe what can best be spared and select from the valuables—to wit, the *monstrances*, the *chalices*, or whatever else of the kind there may be, and also any coin which may come to hand, and send them here by a sure messenger, without delay or negligence. When we receive the same, and know the amount, we will give an acknowledgment, so that the debt shall be duly paid when the State shall be in better circumstances." But all the devices of the king to raise revenue during the early part of his reign did not suffice to meet the wants of the Government. He was thwarted in many of his plans and defeated in many efforts to bring his kingdom into peace and order, for the want of money. None but a man of commanding ability and fertile in resources, and with a strong hold upon the affection and confidence of his people, could have worked his way through and over the enormous difficulties which beset his path.

Last and not least of the difficulties with which Gustavus was called to struggle was *the distrust and opposition of the priesthood*. We have seen that the priesthood, high and low, were partisans of the Danish rule. This alone would have sufficed to have made them the king's secret foes. But when he laid his hands upon the sacred vessels and silver shrines and lamps, the golden crucifixes and the gem-encrusted caskets of holy relics, this distrust passed into thinly veiled and holy horror. While it could have been scarcely possible that the growing alienation of the mind of the king should have been wholly disguised, he yet abstained during the first two years of his reign, from any open opposition to the doctrine or discipline of the Church; although he did not altogether escape some personal collisions with its administrators. It was, as we shall see, one of the main problems which he was called to solve, to prepare the way gradually for the abolition of the Papacy and yet to do this so cautiously as not to create a rebellion, which in the early

part of his reign, before his power was consolidated, he might have been unable to overcome. His position in this respect was not unlike that of Queen Elizabeth, and his cautious policy was quite the counterpart of hers. But on her side there were two great advantages which were wanting to Gustavus. She was the recognized lawful heir to the throne, in a country where the principle of royal hereditary right was a religious dogma, and where the Protestant principles which she aimed to introduce and establish, were already fervently held by a large and intelligent portion of the people. Gustavus on the contrary was an elected king, and the principles of the Reformation had made no progress and were scarcely known to exist when he ascended the throne.

III. The Introduction of Lutheranism into Sweden.

The Lutheran doctrines had been introduced secretly into Sweden by Olaus and Laurentius Petri a few years before Gustavus was proclaimed king. They were native Swedes, the sons of a smith at Orebo, and they had studied with great distinction under Luther and Melancthon, and had been encouraged by them to return and labor to evangelize their native land. They were learned and intrepid men, who were animated with holy zeal, tempered by discretion. In 1520 Olaus was made a Canon of Strengness and in secret preached against indulgences, vows of celibacy, the worship of saints and images, prayers for the dead, auricular confession and the power of the Pope. The shameless traffic in indulgences, which prevailed in Germany and Switzerland, and which aroused the opposition of Luther and Zwingli, also stimulated the zeal of the brothers Petri, to a more open denunciation of the Papal claims. During the awful scenes which occurred while Christian II. had possession of the kingdom, and the war which followed, the preaching of the Petri attracted but little attention. But while these events prevented a wide dissemination of their doctrines, they at the same time allowed them to labor unmolested. The king, who had corresponded with Luther

in 1524, advanced Olaus to the Rectorship of the Church in Stockholm, and appointed his brother Laurentius a professor in the University of Upsala. At this time the king had become a firm but unavowed believer in the doctrines of Luther. After the close of the war the preaching of the two brothers, from the vantage ground of their high position, began to attract much attention. As it now met with violent opposition Gustavus appointed a discussion of the points in dispute to be held in his presence. The result was, as the king had foreseen, favorable to the Reformers. In consequence of this discussion twelve questions were prepared for examination in an assembly of divines to be appointed by the king.

These questions were examined in a conference held at Upsala at Christmas, 1524. Olaus Petri, in the presence of the king, challenged the Canons of Upsala to defend the doctrines of the Roman Church. At first the Chapter declined to engage in the controversy, but finally appointed Peter Gallé as their champion. The questions submitted involved the chief topics in controversy between the Lutheran and the Roman Church. They were as follows: "Whether God's Word is the sole rule of faith; what are the limits of Church authority; whether the supremacy of the Pope and his agents be for Christ or against Him; whether man can be saved by his own works and deservings or otherwise than by God's grace and mercy; whether men have a right to order the administration of the Lord's Supper in a way different from Christ's institution; whether there is any scriptural warrant for the doctrine of purgatory; and lastly, whether the Saints are to be worshiped and prayed to, and are our protectors, patrons, mediators and intercessors before God."

A sharp discussion followed, in which Peter Gallé relied upon the Fathers, and Olaus on the Scriptures alone. After it had continued some time, it was stopped by the king at a point where it was becoming violent, and would have been likely to have ended in commotion and confusion.

He requested the disputants to reduce their arguments to writing, that they might be considered more fully in a larger conference or synod of the clergy. These productions were printed and circulated through the kingdom, and prepared the way in the more remote portions of the country for the reception of the Reformed faith. But the most effective publication on the Protestant side was that of the Bible translated into Swedish by Chancellor Lars Anderson at the king's command. This was issued in the following year.

The manifold complications of the king made it impossible that he should yet appear as the apologist or champion of the Reformation. It was evidence of great moral force on his part, that he resolutely protected the Reformers, and refused to allow them to be persecuted or silenced. The Bishop of Linköping urged the king not to shield those who promulgated the new heresy, and to prohibit the sale of Luther's writings. The king replied that he was bound to protect every one of his subjects until they should be convicted of some crime or civil offense. Thus early did he announce the noble principle, unfortunately not adopted by all the Reformers, from which he never subsequently swerved, that religious opinions when they did not pass into, or were not made the plea for crimes against the State or against the laws, should not be punished by the government. To the demand which was made that he should prohibit the sale of Luther's books he gave the following firm and calm reply: "As to the request that we should forbid the purchase of Luther's books, we do not see how we can grant it until we hear them condemned by impartial judges, especially since books against Luther are brought into the country. It seems, therefore, according to our poor understanding that there should be an opportunity of reading the one as well as the other." Under the circumstances in which he was placed it was a brave and direct reply, when mere policy, uninfluenced by conscience, would have led to evasion or equivocation.

IV. The War of Gustavus against Severin Norby.

For in addition to those general and permanent difficulties of which we have spoken, Gustavus was at that time engaged in a struggle against Severin Norby, a partisan of Christian, who had taken possession of the island of Gothland in the name of the dethroned king, and exercised there a very independent sway. Norby was a brilliant sailor and soldier of fortune, who combined the characteristics of the old Vikings, of the Italian *condottieri* of the middle ages, and of those contemporary knights in Germany, who, like Ulrich Von Hutten and Sickingen, were accomplished scholars. The powerful little capital of Gothland—Wisby—was one of the rich Hanse towns of the middle ages, the rival and the peer of prosperous Lubeck. It was surrounded by powerful walls, which were fortified by massive and lofty towers, and within it was an abode of wealth and a hive of industry. Its present dilapidated condition still attests its former greatness; for its walls and towers remain, and within the circuit of a mile are the ruins of a dozen churches, some of them having almost the solidity and size, and elaborate architecture of cathedrals, in which the merchants and citizens of various nationalities and tongues were accustomed to worship. But as its commercial prosperity declined and its population diminished, its large shipping and its impoverished citizens were often employed in piratical adventures. This island with its fortified position and its piratical reputation furnished an asylum and a base of operations, precisely suited to the character and purposes of Norby. At an early period it had been colonized by Sweden, was converted to Christianity by S. Olaf, in his own peculiar militant style of missionary zeal, and had acknowledged allegiance and paid tribute to the parent state. The Swedish historian Geijer traces the rise of the Hanseatic League to this prosperous commercial community; and it was not until after the middle of the fourteenth century (1361) that, in conflict with the greatly

superior power of Denmark, it received the fatal blow from which it never rallied.

When therefore Norby took possession of the island he was at once welcomed by its inhabitants as its lord. He proceeded to enlarge those piratical enterprises to which they looked for their prosperity; and he enriched the impoverished city by unlading all the booty from the ships which he captured; and then sending them away empty, he wished them a good voyage and a happy return, with fresh and fuller cargoes. He even issued coins, as an independent prince, with his own name on the one side, and the arms of Gothland—most inappropriate to its then position—a lamb with a standard on the other! The life of a sea rover at this time in the Baltic, notwithstanding laws against it, instead of covering those who practiced it with infamy, seems to have invested them with a glamor of romantic adventure, something like that which invested the Vikings of old, especially when, as in the case of Norby, it was professedly adopted from loyalty to a deposed and lawful sovereign.

Gustavus was made to feel that he could not have secure possession of his throne so long as Norby and his little kingdom furnished a rallying point and a nucleus for all the remaining opposition to his reign. Moreover there was good reason to believe that the aspiring adventurer aimed at dispossessing Gustavus and obtaining the regency of the kingdom by a marriage with the widow of the late administrator, Christine Gyllenstierna. Her own conduct and language gave countenance to this belief. When a rumor to that effect was spread among the Dalesmen to excite them to revolt, and when Gustavus, in order to defeat such a scheme, proposed—what was equivalent to a command—that she should be united to Jno. Tureson, the son of the high steward, she gave an explanation of her relation to Norby, which the king affected to accept. “She was afraid,” she said, “that Norby had given out the year before that she was betrothed to him, and that he held her written engagement. But he

could not prove that she had plighted her faith either to himself or to any other man since the death of her husband. She had written to him but once, and then told him that she was not disposed again to marry; but if she were inclined he would be the man of her choice. Now she did not know whether he had so understood these words, as though she had meant to take him for her wedded lord; if he had, he was mistaken. True, she had sent him a gold ring and tablet; but this was only to testify the sense she entertained of the courteous attention he had paid her when she was captive in Denmark." Skillful words certainly, but not such as could exonerate her from disloyalty to her own king, in maintaining such close and friendly relations with his avowed and open enemy!

It was with no little reluctance that Gustavus entered upon the task of capturing Wisby and destroying the power of Norby. He no doubt felt that, even if his throne was not endangered, his prestige would be undermined, and his influence lessened, so long as a powerful enemy could keep the field against him. An expensive expedition which strained the resources of the king, was sent to Gothland and took possession of all the island except Wisby; and after an unsuccessful siege, the capital was finally surrendered to the Danish king. Gustavus was chagrined and dissatisfied with this result, and resolved never again to engage in any enterprise outside of his own dominions; but his last formidable and active enemy was now out of his way, and he hoped to be able to give his undivided attention to the welfare of Sweden, and to the promotion of the Reformation.*

* The remainder of Norby's adventurous and tumultuous life was in keeping with that which we have described above. He escaped with a remnant of his fleet from Gothland, endeavored in vain to enlist Frederic of Denmark in a war with Gustavus, proceeded to Russia to exasperate the Czar against both Sweden and Denmark, and, failing in that effort was imprisoned in Moscow for three years. Liberated at the intercession of the Emperor, he entered into his service, and was killed at the siege of Florence, in 1530. That his piratical career enhanced rather than diminished his fame appears from an eulogistic Latin poem to his

V. Commotions Caused by Anabaptists.

Everywhere we see the Reformation at its rise discredited and hindered by the extravagances of the Anabaptists. It was so in Germany and Bohemia. The same little group of Anabaptist leaders appear in succession in Wittemberg and in Stockholm. It was in the same year (1524), in which the discussion took place before Gustavus that Melchior Rink, a furrier, and Knipperdoling, both from Munster, arrived in Stockholm. They soon met with supporters, and obtained possession of the principal churches, where they preached from the Book of Revelation on the reign of the Saints in the Millenium, which was soon to come. Their converts and partisans, excited to a high pitch of enthusiasm, broke into churches and convents, destroyed the images, organs and ornaments, which they found there, and threw the fragments into the streets and market-places. Olaus Petri's ineffectual efforts to quell the disturbances did not save him from the sharp rebukes of Gustavus. Some of the authors of these disturbances were imprisoned, and some banished from the kingdom, and forbidden to return. But the affair gave great scandal, and created fresh prejudices against the Lutheran doctrines. This was increased in some of the provinces by the Antinomian doctrines and the loose lives of preachers who had been infected with Anabaptist opinions. Gustavus met this difficulty with his usual skill and firmness. While making his *Ericsgelt* through the kingdom, he often called the Evangelical clergy around him and addressed them. He exhorted them to proceed cautiously in dealing with error and errorists, not to dwell harshly on topics which might give offense, not to carp at

memory by the former Vice-Chancellor to Christian II., which ends thus:

"That life which Moscow's dungeons could not quell,
Nor Neptune quench amid his boundless swell,
In Latium sunk, the citadel of fame,
That through the world might spread so great a name!"

(*History of Gustavus Vasa. Jno. Murray, 1853.*)

Popes and Bishops, for the ignorant people were immediately offended and said that they preached a new faith. The pure doctrine of the Gospel he would certainly uphold and spread over the kingdom; but he complained that they did not instruct the people properly; that some spoke scoffingly of the Saints; that some condemned good works, not distinguishing those of man's device from those which God Himself had ordained; that some had put aside holy days together with the comfortable Gospels and Epistles appointed for them; and finally that many led lazy and scandalous lives. In these informal *conciones ad clerum* the king had reference to the errors and misdoings of both Papists and extreme and fanatical Protestants, and showed himself a sound theologian as well as a skillful administrator. But it cannot be denied that, pressed on many sides with the conflicting demands of his position, the necessity imposed upon him to be at the same time a conservative and a reformer, led him sometimes into dissimulations difficult to be reconciled with godly simplicity and sincerity.

VI. The King's Treatment of the Priests and Monks.

The king's strong conviction that the moral and material welfare of the kingdom depended upon taking from the clergy their enormous privileges, and detaching their hold upon the superstitious devotion of the people, through a reformation of doctrine, led him to adopt a definite and determined policy. In this determination he was greatly encouraged and confirmed by his able Chancellor Lars Anderson. Anderson had been an ecclesiastic; but from a secret rejection of the Romish system rather than from a cordial adoption of Lutheranism, he abandoned the clerical for the secular life; and by his great knowledge and administrative ability soon rose to the highest civil office in the kingdom, and became the confidential counselor of the king. It was from the standpoint of a statesman that he urged the king to prepare the way for the establishment of Lutheranism by depriving the clergy, first of many of their preroga-

tives and immunities, and then of the great possessions which these unjust advantages had enabled them to accumulate. Very skillfully did he begin to deprive them of those traditional or recognized rights which weighed most heavily upon the people, in order that they might be won to approve and sanction his proceedings. His measures in this direction and to this end are thus described by Vertot (p. 211): "The Swedish curates had assumed a right to impose a kind of tax upon certain public sins, and with a great deal of vigor exacted considerable fines from those who took the diversion of hunting or fishing in time of divine service, those who abused women to whom they were contracted before the solemn celebration of the sacrament of Marriage. This privilege was abrogated by one of the king's proclamations, and the priests were prohibited to exact such impositions for the future. By another declaration they were forbidden to use ecclesiastical censures against their private enemies or creditors. The Bishops and their officials had extended the jurisdiction of the Church so far beyond its ordinary limits that they claimed a divine right to take cognizance of all sorts of affairs that had the least relation to religion. An oath made in a bargain, the interposition of a clergyman which was frequently begged for that purpose, or the least dispute which arose about a contract of marriage were reckoned sufficient grounds to remove a cause from the ordinary courts of justice. But Gustavus abrogated their jurisdiction entirely, insinuating at the same time that the hearing and determination of suits were inconsistent with the function and duty of clergymen. And by the same declaration it was ordained that the clergy should be obliged to refer their differences to secular Judges, who were authorized to take cognizance of all the affairs in the kingdom."

These were sweeping innovations. But Gustavus proceeded farther. He forbade Bishops, on any pretense of right or of specific bequest, to take the property of deceased clergymen to the prejudice of their lawful heirs. As he saw that the Lutheranism which he secretly fostered, pro-

gressed in the kingdom he continued to issue injunctions which limited more and more the privileges of the Bishops and the clergy.

Having thus prepared the way, the king was resolute in carrying out the policy which he had determined to adopt in reference to the ecclesiastical estates. It was estimated by him that the clergy were in possession of two thirds of the entire wealth of the kingdom; and he insisted that it was but just that they should bear a proportionate part of the burdens of the State, and not allow them to be borne only by the poorer classes, upon whom they had always pressed heavily, and in the present exigency would fall with crushing weight. As early as 1522 he had demanded aid from the clergy; and again in 1523 another requisition in the form of a loan was made; and in the three years succeeding the same demands continued to be enforced. When these continued exactions were followed by a dearth of food so severe as almost to amount to a famine in 1527 and 1528, the clergy did not fail to represent it as a visitation of God upon the kingdom for the oppression of the Church and the favor shown to the new heresy of Luther. These charges Gustavus met by the statement that it was but just that the clergy should contribute to the expenses of the State; that they were not taxed in larger proportion to their wealth than other classes; and that much of the property which he demanded of them was lying idle, and should be rendered available for the uses of the State. He declared that when he compelled them to bear their portion of the public burdens, and endeavored to protect the people from their exactions, they at once raised the clamor that all these measures were adopted with a view to introduce the Lutheran heresy and overthrow the Church. In replying to this charge, Gustavus insisted that in this proceeding he acted wholly in the character of a just ruler, and not as a Reformer. Without denying that he had protected Reformers, he declared that his protection of his subjects from unjust exactions and the arbitrary will of the priesthood should not

be laid to the charge of innovating and reforming religious zeal.

His language upon the subject is very emphatic. He does not allow the Bishops and priests to escape his specific charges by hiding them under the counter charge of Lutheran heresy and schism. "Certain monks and priests," he writes in 1526 to the people of Helsingfors, "have brought us into scandal, chiefly for that we blame their irregularities." Among these the king reckons that if a man owe anything, they refuse him the Sacrament, instead of pursuing their demand by law; if a poor man on a holy day kills a bird, or draws a fish from a stream, he is forthwith obliged to pay a fine to the Bishop and the Provost for Sabbath-breaking; that the laymen have not the same rights against the priests as the priests have against them; that the priests took the inheritance of priests dying intestate, passing over their heirs; that the clergy fraudulently possess themselves of much of crown property, and embezzle the king's proportion of judicial fines; when they perceive that we look to the interest of the crown, which is incumbent on us by reason of our kingly dignity, they straightway declare that we wish to bring in a new faith and Luther's doctrine; whereas the matter is not otherwise than ye have now heard, that we will not permit them to give loose to their avarice, contrary to law."

While it is evident that no devout Romanist could have used this language, and adopted these energetic measures, it is equally clear that they might have been employed by a just and decided king, who had no tendency to Lutheranism, nor even any religious convictions. They betray a rejection of Romanism, but not an adoption of Lutheranism.

VII. Intrigues against the King.

It was but a few months after his election that there were plots on foot to dethrone him, and to restore the house of Stur  to the head of the government. It seemed

to be a circumstance favorable to the stability of his throne, that on his accession all the Bishoprics, with the exception of two, were vacant. It might have fairly been expected that those whom he appointed would be loyal to him. But they all, sooner or later, became his enemies. Peter Jacobson, called Sunnanvaeder, who had been chancellor of Steno Sturé the Younger, was chosen Bishop of Westeras by the Dalesmen, and confirmed by the king. But in less than a year he was detected in a conspiracy to overthrow Gustavus, and reinstate the house of Sturé. He was deprived of his office, as was also the newly elected Bishop Canute, who appeared in his defense. The deposed Bishops proceeded to the Dales, and there fanned the conspiracy which they had before kindled. Their intrigues with the Dalesmen led the latter to adopt a high tone towards Gustavus, as if, being a king of their making, they could direct him or depose him. But it was not long before they found that they had in him a master who was just and generous to the loyal, but who could be stern and terrible to the rebellious. This they had not learned as yet, and hence they assumed to address him in the tone of those who felt that he would be compelled to yield. Under the dictation of the two Bishops they wrote to him that they would not permit him to impose one tax after another upon the churches, and convents, and priests, and monks, and people. They renounced their allegiance to him unless he procured for them cheaper markets, and drove foreigners from his service, and cleared himself from the charge of having imprisoned Christina Gillenstierna, and poisoned or banished her son. They reminded the king of his obligation to them "when he was a friendless wanderer in the woods," and how ill he had performed the promises which he made to them.

These intrigues were implicated with others which rendered the position of the king for a time perilous and doubtful. So far from having imprisoned Christina, Gustavus had just secured her release from a Danish prison,

when this charge was made. She proceeded to Calmar and there met her eldest son, Nicholas, who was then twelve years of age, and whom the Bishops wished to elevate to the throne. It was at this time that Norby, at the instigation of the Bishops, attempted to secure the hand of Christina, with a view to elevate her son to the throne, of which they might be the joint guardians. While Gustavus suspected Christina as secretly favoring this arrangement, he professed to regard it as the mere gossip of the disaffected, and took the young Sturé to his court for a time, and then sent him to his mother, who had repaired to Upsala. His death soon after removed the nucleus around which these intrigues and treasons gathered. For it was the double object of many of these conspirators to elevate the house of Sturé and restore King Christian. We learn that this was the design of one party from a written promise of the fugitive king, that if Lord Severin should marry the Lady Christina, and thereby come into the government of Sweden, he might hold the kingdom absolutely as the king's Lieutenant, for a yearly tribute. He even issued a public letter to the effect that he had transferred his power to Norby until he should himself return to his dominions. Norby in the spring of 1525 made a descent upon Scania, and all the province except Malmö again did homage to Christian. And at the same time that this treason was working in the south of the kingdom, the rebel Bishops were endeavoring to stir up the dissatisfied Dalesmen to open opposition. But in this they met with so little success,—the Dalesmen much preferring to reprove Gustavus than to fight with him,—that ultimately they were compelled to flee to Norby.

VIII. The Attitude of the King.

It was under these complicated and harassing difficulties that Gustavus exhibited at once the enormous energy and resources of his genius, and that stern side of his character which sometimes passed into cruelty, which overawed at

length all but the boldest and most desperate of his enemies. His firm attitude at the period, and his determination to put down the priesthood which so constantly employed its spiritual power to further temporal interests, appears in his spirited reply to the Dean of Upsala, who had pointed out to him what he regarded as the chief cause of popular discontent. "You write," replies the king, "that the people were angry that the Bishop of Westeras has not a sufficient number of retainers. We should rather expect them to be angry if they came with a multitude, burdening first one and then another; but *you* and many others, perhaps, may take offense thereat; you who cannot, or will not, think otherwise than that to the office of a Bishop is attached some great worldly dignity, notwithstanding that the Scriptures hold them to be servants of all, and that they can fulfill this duty far better with few retainers than with many.

"You write further that it is highly desirable that nothing be violently or unjustly taken from the churches and monasteries. Would to God that our forefathers had been as careful that nothing had been filched from the crown and nobles by fraud and imposture, as folks nowadays take care to keep what they have obtained, whether by right or by wrong. We do not know whether we have taken anything violently from churches and monasteries as you write; but we know that we have restored them what their enemies had sliced away, and preserved what was threatened to be sliced away in like manner.

"Another person is now bestirring himself—I mean King Christian—making much ado to regain the Kingdom of Sweden—which God forbid! You will find, should he succeed, that he will filch more from you and from others than what we have either done or wish to do; and if you and the Chapter had well considered, you would have been quite as well advised had you defended our proceedings, instead of aggravating the case, whenever the priests who were under you had taken them ill or misunderstood them. If you yourself had given the matter due consideration, you, Mas-

ter John, had no good grounds to fall in so readily with those who batter at our shield ; and though you write that you do so with the best intentions, we can well perceive from your style to which side you incline. Now you are the man in whom of all in Upsala we have placed the most confidence—you are he whom we have highly exalted—you are he whom we have most delighted to know. See that you prove yourself sensible of this."

We cannot wonder that the treason of Bishops of his own appointment, and the selfish greed and the thinly veiled disloyalty of friends in whom he trusted, should have awakened this feeling of scorn and indignation in the heart of the king ; but it is only a brave man that, in the critical circumstances in which he was placed, would have ventured to give them such free expression. It is evident that he felt that the time had come for the inevitable conflict with the Papal and priestly power. He no longer disguised his conviction that the Church was not only an oppressive domination, fatal to the advancement and prosperity of the kingdom, the robber of the rights and possessions of citizens and of the State, in the name of religion, but that it was essentially anti-Christian in its dogmas and its spirit. He saw that the time for peaceful preparation for the Reformation had passed, and that it must either be inaugurated or destroyed by open conflict, by a decided victory or defeat. He did not hesitate to meet the crisis, not only with his usual magnificent intrepidity, but also with no little of passion and of polemic zeal. He put off his civic robes and threw down his diplomatic pen, and donned his armor and took in his mailed hand the sword that had won so many and such wondrous triumphs. The time was propitious. Christian was a fugitive. Frederic of Denmark was from policy friendly. Norby was out of the way. The Pope was in conflict with Charles V., and the Emperor's resources were too absorbed in that struggle, and in his large imperial schemes in Italy, the Netherlands and France to allow him to intervene in the affairs of Sweden. His proceedings from this period

plainly show his purpose to grapple with and overthrow the Papal domination, or to perish in the attempt.

IX. The Arrest and Execution of the two Bishops.

Prompt steps were taken by the king to insure his authority over the people before he entered upon the decisive measure of securing the arrest and trial and punishment of the two rebel Bishops. The States were assembled early in May (1526), at Westeras. The king presented to them the two great evils which afflicted the country—the treason of the Bishops, and the intrigues of Norby. He offered to resign his crown if his government was unsatisfactory to the States and people. But he was eagerly assured by them of their attachment to his person, of their loyal support to his government, and their co-operation in the punishment of traitors. Having thus received a fresh sanction to his authority, Gustavus proceeded to the Dales and summoned the people to meet him at Tuna-Kyrka, and held a conference with them, surrounding them by a considerable body of well-armed troops. Convinced by arguments and subdued by his commanding presence, and experiencing probably a renewal of their own affection and admiration, and perhaps overawed by the military display, which was too large for a mere escort, and yet not so overwhelming as to mortify them by the proof that they were to be forced into submission, they acknowledged that they had been misled, and promised not again to be seduced from their allegiance.

Then he proceeded at once to secure the two rebel Bishops. They had fled to Norway and had found a refuge with the Archbishop of Drontheim. The king demanded them from the Norwegian Council by virtue of an article of the treaty of Malmö, by which it was agreed that the rebels of one country should not find protection in the other. The Council consented to deliver up the refugees, but demanded a safe conduct for them. Gustavus sent it in these terms: They should experience no evil in coming to Sweden, but there they should stand their trial before their proper

judges, and undergo what justice demanded and decreed. The Archbishop suggested that their proper judges were prelates of the Church. But Gustavus would not listen to this plea. He asserted justly that those who were traitors to the State, should be tried by the civil power; and not shelter their treason under a plea of religion. It was evident that the safety of his throne depended on the maintenance of this principle. He determined to assert it in this case in a way so startling as to prove to all that he was not to be deterred by any remaining reverence for the Roman priesthood from punishing the treason of ecclesiastics, with even more of rigor and more accompaniments of disgrace, than those of civilians. Sunanvader, who was ill, had been detained in prison at Stockholm. When the Archbishop was near the city Sunanvader was carried out to meet him; and a mock triumphal entry of the two took place. The two Bishops were seated, riding backwards, on half-starved horses and in tattered Episcopal robes. On the head of one was a miter of bark; the other wore a crown of straw and a wooden half-broken sword. However much or little of significant symbolism might have been intended by this travesty of power and office, it was plain enough that there was in it an evident expression of defiance and contempt of the priesthood. A few years earlier such an exhibition from whatever cause would have created a revolt. But in this a great crowd followed with demonstrations of approval, and a group of masked men surrounded and followed them, shouting, Here comes the new king, the Lord Peter Sunanvader!

Sunanvader was sent to Upsala for trial. In addition to the judges in the case of the Archbishop, there were added two Bishops and the chief persons in the Chapter of Upsala. The lay judges condemned the accused, and the spiritual protested against their jurisdiction. Petitions for mercy, strongly urged, were wholly unheeded by the king. The sentence was carried out at Upsala upon the Bishop of Westeras in February, 1527, and a few days after upon the Archbishop at Stockholm.

Gustavus has been severely censured, even by Protestant historians, for this proceeding. But it was evident that he could hold his own, only by striking terror into the Papal party, and by a distinct and sharp-cut issue, at this period, between the Reformation and the Papacy. It was no more than justice towards the traitors, who used their spiritual power for the overthrow of the government as well as for the supremacy of the priesthood; and it was as evidently good policy on the part of the king, whose conscience was now enlisted in behalf of the Reformation, and who both as a Christian and a patriot was ready to stake his throne on the failure or success of his efforts to destroy the Papal and the priestly power.

The character of the policy of Gustavus from the first—the skillful use of conciliation where it was expedient, and of force and severity where it was necessary, is well described by Geijer in commenting on these proceedings. I quote part of the passage as affording a true key to the proceeding of the king during all his reign, in the midst of difficulties, which only a master mind could have overcome. He was a combination of Bismarck without his brutality, and of a Napoleon III. without his inertness.

“Men now began to be aware with whom they had to do; but they scarcely yet comprehended the full measure of that intrepidity which in Gustavus was usually evolved stroke by stroke as the resistance offered, and the circumstances of the case demanded from a beginning that was tranquil and even apparently compliant. For such always was his commencement, unless urgent necessity prescribed a different line, and he ever went greater lengths than even his opponents expected. Signs like these announce to us a soul which teemed with a future yet unrevealed. Those who wish to study his character in this phase, from its earliest disclosure, may be referred to his correspondence with Bishop Brask, as one of the main sources of the history of the first year of his reign. This prelate was beyond comparison the most influential as well as the most sagacious

and well-informed of his day in Sweden, and in his way an upright friend of his country. He treated the young king from the beginning with a kind of fatherly superiority, styling him 'dear Gustavus,' and accepting in return the title of 'gracious Lord.' Shortly after the election he obtained a confirmation of all the privileges of his Church and bishopric. But he was soon forced to feel the significance of the king's saying to the last Catholic Archbishop Johannes Magnus: 'Thy grace and our grace have not room beneath one roof.' With the aggressions of Gustavus on the clergy began the prelate's opposition; and with every impediment thrown in his way the king went one step further, as if he were more bent on reducing his most powerful adversary to extremities, so that the latter determined at length after the example of Johannes Magnus to quit the kingdom. But he was first to see the hierarchy of Sweden completely overthrown."

X. Deposition and Banishment of Johannes Magnus.

A short time before these events Johannes Magnus had incurred the king's displeasure, both by his hostility to the Reformed doctrines, and his luxurious and extravagant mode of life. He maintained a state and pomp which surpassed that of the king's court. He made his Episcopal visitations with a cortege of two hundred persons; and, like Cardinal Wolsey, he had among the pages of his household the sons of some of the chief nobles of the land. The king had in vain remonstrated with him on his unseemly ostentation and luxury. On the fair day of S. Eric he took the Archbishop with him to the old Upsala, and there on the summit of one of the mounds, seated on horseback, with the people around him, much to the disgust of the Archbishop, he endeavored to convince them that there were too many monks in the country, and that they were no better than a race of vermin devouring the face of the earth; and that it was an unreasonable thing to pray in

Latin, which they did not understand. The sturdy but superstitious peasantry called out that they would not allow their monks to be driven out, but would themselves feed and sustain them. This meeting took place in May, 1526, and on their return to Upsala the king accepted an invitation of the Archbishop to a feast. On that occasion the Archbishop occupied a raised seat on a level of that of the king, contrary to the usual custom on such occasions, and said while pledging him "Our Grace drinks to your Grace." The king answered, "For our Grace and your Grace there is not room in the same house." He rose from the table much offended, and departed amid the smiles of the courtiers, and the consternation of the ecclesiastics. His dissatisfaction with the Archbishop was much increased when at a conference with the Canons of Upsala he inquired of them on what they grounded their right to their large possessions; and found that the Archbishop was determined to hold fast to the extent of his ability to all the possessions and the old immunities of the Church. Peter Gallé answered him that these possessions were granted by nobles and others, and confirmed by kings and princes. "But," asked Gustavus, "what if they have been obtained by fraud—by preaching of purgatory or such-like cozenage of priests and friars?" The Archbishop and the other members of the Chapter, with the exception of George Tureson, the Dean, made no reply. He boldly declared that the gifts made by kings and emperors cannot be filched away without God's curse and eternal damnation.

Upon suspicion of treasonable practices the Archbishop was imprisoned for a time in a monastery; but, without being tried, he was allowed to proceed to Poland on the pretense of a mission to negotiate a marriage between the king and the daughter of Sigismund. But he furnished the Archbishop with no money; and it was evident that it was a device of the king to get him out of the kingdom. As soon as he was able to obtain means from his clergy, the Archbishop proceeded at once to Dantzic, and thence to

Rome, where he died in great poverty in the hospital of San Spirito, in 1537, and was buried in the Vatican.

XI. Anti-Papal and Arbitrary Measures of the King.

It was in the midst of increasing opposition and obstacles that the king himself took or sanctioned in others more and more decided measures against the devotions and practices and property of the Church. Olaus Petri took a wife in Stockholm in 1525. His example was soon followed by many other priests. Gustavus would not allow them to be deposed or to lose their position and emoluments. On the contrary, he wrote Bishop Brask that Olaus Petri would vindicate that proceeding by the Word of God. It was in this year also that the New Testament, translated at his request by the Chancellor, Lars Anderson, was published. In order to divert the interest and the ambition of the nobility away from the Church and towards the State, Gustavus conferred on them titles, and put them in possession of Church lands, which had been alienated from the estates of their ancestors, as he avowed through the preaching of purgatory and other priestly cozenage.

We have seen that up to this period (1525) Gustavus had insisted that the clergy should bear their proportionate part of the burdens of the State. But in that year, on account of the revolt of the Dalesmen and the attempts of Christian to recover the throne, and the diminution of the revenues, he went still further in his demand upon the revenues of the Church. At the meeting of the States in January, 1525, it was agreed that the tithes, with the exception of so much as should be necessary for wax-lights and the service of the altar, should be appropriated to the pay of the troops, and that the cavalry should be quartered upon the monasteries. It was on this occasion that Bishop Brask admonished the king not to appropriate tithes to secular uses nor to encroach upon the privileges of the convents. He declared "that as they were not endowed from crown lands but by private property, the king had not the smallest right

to meddle with them, neither had any previous monarch ventured to do so." Gustavus answered in effect that he was compelled to this course by the necessity which knew no law, and whether it were law or no, his course was right in itself, and absolutely necessary in the emergency in which he was placed. After this, in 1526-27, he took the ground distinctly that all Church property was the State's, and to be employed by it for the best civil and religious welfare of the people. It was inevitable that these sweeping claims, and the high-handed enforcement of them which followed, would lead to a decisive struggle of the old and new. To enter fully into all the details of this struggle, in which the interests of the Reformation were indeed involved, but which were for the most part civil and military, would be to lose sight for a time almost entirely of the religious questions. This constitutes the special difficulty of presenting the Reformation history—the religious history of Sweden. It is to be discerned through—lying under as it were—its civil history. In some other countries the reverse of this is true, as in Bohemia, and in England during the reigns of Henry VIII., of Edward VI., and Elizabeth. There the civil history is best seen under the religious history by which it was shaped. But in Sweden, Gustavus was involved in his civil administration in difficulties arising from the exorbitant power of the clergy and the magnates and the turbulence of the people—difficulties which would have existed if no religious Reformation had been undertaken, but which were aggravated by this underlying, and, in the beginning, partially hidden purpose to dethrone the Papal power and introduce Lutheran Protestantism in its place.

XII. Continued Appropriation of Church Property.

After the decisive action of the States in Stockholm, in January, 1525, by which it was decreed that tithes should be appropriated to the payment of the troops, and the troops quartered upon the monasteries, the king more openly than before laid his hand upon the property of the Church. At

a meeting of the States at Wadstena in the following year, on the same plea of State necessity, it was enacted that the benificed clergy should bear the same burden in furnishing men at arms as the laymen of the same incomes. Gustavus also at this meeting confirmed the old privileges of the nobles and permitted them to redeem that portion of their patrimony which had passed into the hands of the Church since Charles Canutson's reign. It was a measure well calculated to enlist the Lords on the side of the Reformation. Gustavus immediately availed himself of this provision to lay claim to the convent of Gripsholm. "You see," said Bishop Brask to his brother Bishops on this occasion, "the fruit of your remissness. Our ruin is at hand, and you yourself have helped it on. The king, without a single remonstrance from you, has taken one step after another in overthrowing our religion. He has Lutheran priests in his palace preaching daily that our fall is near. He has attacked our monasteries and you have consented to his deeds. He has allowed priests to marry; he has in your very presence subjected our faith to examination. Now he snatches away our revenues, and you look on dismayed." "And," says one of the historians of Gustavus, "well might they do so! For against them was State necessity and a determined will and an almost absolute power; and they themselves were not so strong in truth and righteousness as not to blench before the formidable array.

The monks of Gripsholm hastened to lay the convent at the feet of Gustavus, not only without remonstrance but with abject expressions of satisfaction at the surrender. They close the document of transfer with these words: "If through misunderstanding of the affair any evil report should arise against his Grace in consequence of this proceeding, we pledge our honor and Christian faith that we will repel it and defend his Grace as we honestly may, well knowing that his Grace has good right to recover the inheritance which was taken by force from his father."

Thus far the king had secured the sanction of the States for his proceedings. But he seemed now to feel that he had become strong enough, through their support and sanction hitherto, to act without it, and of his own will to lay his hands on Church property, and arbitrarily to intervene in the management of Church affairs. He allowed dissatisfied monks on application to him to leave their monasteries. He wrote to the Bishop of Abo that the Chapter should have consulted him before they chose a Dean, and prescribed to them as a sort of penance for their presumption that they should send 200 marks a year for the maintenance of a good man—*i.e.*, one of his guard in the palace. And what was more extraordinary, he ordered the Dean and Chapter of the same See to change the late Dean's will. His missive on this occasion is certainly a remarkable document, and is appended in order to show the thoroughly arbitrary methods upon which he had entered, and which led, not only to murmurs and discontent, but ultimately to a new rebellion.

"We, Gustavus, hereby testify that it has been made known to us how the good man, Jacob, Dean of Abo, has left a large sum of money which he bequeathed in his will according to his pleasure; but it is evident to any one who will duly consider the matter, that the said money could have been much better disposed of; that is to say, that the greatest part of it might have been applied to the public benefit, considering the burdens now lying on the country, through the heavy debt occasioned by the war, which has been now a long time waged against King Christian. We therefore enjoin the Bishop and Chapter of Abo to modify the said will according to our ideas, which we have already partly explained to his executors, so that while his heirs, relations and the poor get the share that is given them, the rest may be applied, as far as it will go, to the payment of the debt; when that is done we acquit his executors of all other claim from those interested in said will, whosoever they may be."

It was impossible that such arbitrary proceedings should

not excite murmurs and dissatisfaction. Coupled as they were with the famine that followed, and the increased heavy taxation, they led to a new rebellion in Dalecarlia.

XIII. Rebellion in Dalecarlia.

The prevailing disaffection, which ripened into revolt in Dalecarlia, gathered about a young impostor who professed to be the son of Sten Sturé. The youth whom he personated had been sent to Dantzic in 1520, and had returned to Calmar at the same time that Gustavus procured the liberation of Christina. He was at the time that this pretender appeared (1527) at the court of Gustavus, who was falsely accused of having taken his life. It was this false rumor, propagated by the partisans of Christian and Norby, which gave rise to this attempt. The pretender declared that Gustavus had ordered that he should be killed, but that he escaped from the court of the heretic tyrant who had sought his life. A soldier of the late Regent, Peter Grym, assisted him in his deception and taught him how to play his part. He was an illegitimate child of an unknown father, and had acquired in the service of a nobleman the arts and manners which gave plausibility among the simple Dalesmen to his claim. He is described as handsome, eloquent and full of assurance and assumption. Whenever he spoke of his pretended father it was with so much seeming feeling that the Dalesmen could not refrain from weeping with him. He thanked them for their love to his father, and bade them to pray for his soul. He proceeded to Norway, where he was taken up by the Archbishop, and through his influence betrothed to a lady of large fortune and high family. Returning to the Dales with the aid he derived from Norway, he rallied some supporters, although opinion with regard to him was much divided, and he determined to resist the forces of the king. Christina Gyllanstijurna, at the king's request, wrote to the Dalesmen disowning her pretended son.

After some skirmishing with the king's troops, the Dales-

men came to a parley with the commissioners whom the king had sent to confer with them in reference to their alleged grievances. The complaints transmitted by the commission were answered by Gustavus with the patience which he could always display upon occasion, and which the critical circumstances in which he was now placed made expedient. They complained that there was but little coin in circulation, of heavy taxes, of dearness of provisions, and of the profanation of monasteries. One of the most curious of their grievances, and one which shows the simplicity of the times, and the freedom with which they addressed their kings, was their objection to the new-fashioned slashed doublets that were worn at court. They objected to the Lutheranism which prevailed at Stockholm, and the psalms and hymns that were sung in public worship. These and similar grievances, in which the gravest and most trivial matters were absurdly mixed, were answered fully and in their order by the king. New coin should soon be struck. The heavy taxes were unavoidable after the war, but would be diminished as soon as peace was assured and Christian disabled from doing further mischief. The dearness of provisions was due to famine, which was God's visitation and should be borne with pious patience. He quite agreed with them about slashed doublets—he did not like them—but what could he do with giddy young courtiers who would adopt every foreign folly that was imported? And what concern was it of theirs how he and the courtiers dressed? As to Lutheranism and the Swedish hymns, he answered—not very ingenuously—that he knew little about Lutheranism; but that he was determined to put a stop to priestly impositions and secure the pure preaching of the Word of God; and that it was certainly more sensible to sing hymns in Swedish which they understood than in Latin of which they were wholly ignorant. He expressed surprise that they should meddle with questions such as these, which were quite beyond their capacity, and not leave them to be settled by the State Council and learned clerks and prelates.

The result of these conferences and communications of the king was that the Dalesmen agreed to lay down their arms and abandon the pretender; and on the part of Gustavus there was an assurance of complete oblivion of all that had been done or attempted in his favor. It was furthermore decided that a meeting of the States should take place at Westeras in which all the questions at issue between the king, the Dalesmen and the clergy should be discussed and settled.

XIV. Meeting of the States in Westeras.

This meeting of the States in Westeras, as it was most important in view of the crisis at which it was summoned and most memorable for its results, was also remarkable for the unusual numbers for that age by which it was attended. There were present, 4 Bishops, 4 Deans, 15 State Councilors, 120 Nobles, 32 Burghers (exclusive of the Town Council of Stockholm, who were present and had a considerable influence upon their proceedings), 14 Miners, representative of that important interest, and 105 peasants from all parts of the kingdom, except the Dales, who felt that that question between them and the king was one of the most important which was to be settled. The nobles at the king's request came armed. He reckoned on their support in striking the decisive blow against the Bishops and the clergy, upon which he was resolved.

Gustavus opened the session on the Sunday before the midsummer's day by a magnificent banquet in which he conspicuously displayed his purpose to bring down the hierarchy. The indignities offered to Knut and Sunanvader might seem to have been prompted solely by their repeated treasons, the insults heaped upon Johannes Magnus to have been the due reward of his vanity and folly; but the king now determined to take a step which could not be mistaken. The whole hierarchy was now to be humbled. They had always been assigned the highest places in all public proceedings, and especially in feasts—

the Bishops taking position above even the Regents of the kingdom. But on this occasion the place assigned them was below the State Council and the higher nobles.

This was no light matter in itself, and it was alarmingly significant as an indication of the intended policy of the king towards the prelates and the Church. The Bishops met, with closed doors, in the church of S. Egedius, to consider the situation. Their leader, Bishop Brask, declared that the purpose of the king was patent. He no doubt intended to take away their revenues and castles and prelatical prerogatives, and degrade them to the level of mere parish priests. But to this, if they were wise, they never would consent. They could not indeed resist force; but they could wield a force greater far than that of kings'—even that of interdict and excommunication. Mightier monarchs than Gustavus had been prostrated by the thunders of the Church. Let them remain true to the Pope and their order and they might retain or recover their position; but if they yielded they would be held no better than serfs or cowards.

At Brask's suggestions the assembled dignitaries signed a paper, in which they pledged themselves to protect the Church's rights, to be true to the Pope, never to adopt the Lutheran heresy, and to await with patience the change of government. They hid this document under the floor of the church, where fifteen years after it was discovered.

The king, through his chancellor, thanked the Diet for having assembled at his call, in the present emergency, in such large numbers. He reminded them that at Wadstena he had offered to resign the Regency. In consequence of the state of the kingdom at that time he had been obliged to seek aid in Lubeck and other towns, and hence the large indebtedness and heavy taxes of the kingdom. After the surrender of Stockholm the nobles had chosen him king, and his election had been confirmed by all the orders of the State. He had then reluctantly accepted the office, and had since often repented having done so. "For," and here

he dropped his apologetic and explanatory style, "who could rule with any comfort such a people? Who especially would desire to rule the Dalesmen, who were ever on the look-out for something to find fault with, ever ready to break into open revolt, if the king did not submit to their capricious and unreasonable demands? They were ever boasting that they had placed him upon the throne. But after the victory at Westeras, when the liberation was by no means fully assured, most of them went home again." Passing from this outburst of rebuke, the chancellor proceeded to vindicate the proceedings of Gustavus, in reference to the monasteries, the taxing of the clergy, the limitation of the powers of the Bishops, and the introduction of the pure preaching of the Gospel. The king, he said, was more than ready to resign the throne if the people were dissatisfied and wished him to do so; but as long as he occupied it he was fixed in his purpose of pursuing the policy which under a deep sense of duty to his country he had hitherto adopted.

It was a bold but probably a politic proceeding on the part of the king. It was one of those decisive occasions on which a great man, driven at bay, and losing his temper and self-control, and regardless of consequences, assumes a defiant attitude which ultimately stands him in better stead than his usual more restrained and politic methods of proceeding. It was evident that he now stood at the turning point of his career, where he was either to be unseated or to be more firmly fixed in his position upon the throne. It was also clear that he had become so harassed that he had lost his usual patience and forbearance, and was really indifferent to the result. He did not desire to be king unless he could have the ample power necessary to discharge the office at an era so disturbed and among a people so independent in spirit, so prone to complain and to adopt a tone of dictation to their rulers. If he had attempted to wheedle or conciliate them we can scarcely doubt that he would have failed. By taking a high tone of indignation, which, un-

like some of the first Napoleon's outbursts of feigned passion for evil ends, was genuine, and by the expression of more than willingness to resign his office, which was evidently real, the admiration of some of his opponents might be awakened, and others become alarmed at the view of the anarchy which would probably result from his abdication. Whether or no this result was in his thought, it was immediately brought about by the strong reaction which ensued.

The ruling spirit of the opposition, Bishop Brask, who could no longer doubt that the existence of the Romish Church in Sweden and the prerogatives of his own order depended on the result of this Diet—had arranged the method of proceeding, which he hoped would lead to the persistent refusal of Gustavus to wear a crown so lined with irritating cares, and the acceptance of his resignation by the States. He had induced Thuré Johnson, the senior member of the king's council, and therefore next to the king in position in the kingdom, to approve his views and second his efforts. Accordingly, when the address had been read and the king demanded an answer of the nobles and Bishops, Thuré Johnson requested that Bishop Brask might give his opinion. Gustavus could not but have perceived that this proceeding had been pre-arranged, and this knowledge was by no means calculated to calm his excitement. The Bishop replied to the appeal that he was well aware of the allegiance which he owed to the king; but he and all his order were equally bound to obey the Pope in things spiritual, and that without his concurrence he could not consent to any change of doctrine, nor to any diminution of the Church's rights and possessions. If, indeed, unscrupulous priests had sought to enrich themselves by working upon the superstitions of the laity—a course which the heads of the Church themselves condemned—let such cases be proved and punished.

The king asked the nobles and the State Councillors if this reply seemed to them sufficient. Thuré Johnson said

that he could not but think that the Bishop's answer was in the main right, though not a complete reply to all that the king had brought forward. Gustavus was too indignant to measure his words, or even to restrain himself within the bounds of his royal dignity. "Then," said he, "we have no will longer to be your king. From you we had expected another answer; but now we cannot wonder that the common people should give us all manner of disobedience and misliking, when they have such ringleaders. Get they not rain, the fault is ours; if sunshine fail them, it is the same cry; if bad years, hunger and pest come, so must we bear the blame. All ye will be our masters. Monks and priests and creatures of the Pope ye set over our heads; and for all our toil for your welfare we have no other reward to expect than that ye would gladly see the axe at our neck; and there are none of you but gladly grasp its handle. Who would be your king on such terms? Not the worst fiend in hell, much less a man! Therefore look ye to it that ye release me fairly of the government, and restore to me that which I have disbursed of my own stock for the general weal. Then will I depart and never see again my ungrateful fatherland." The king, at these words, burst into tears, and hastily quitted the hall.

It is not often that such momentous results have hung upon one short speech. The Reformation in Sweden, the heroic services of Gustavus Adolphus in behalf of periled Protestantism in Europe, the prevention, it is not too much to say, of the crushing out of Protestantism in Germany—all these great issues hung suspended on the result of that short, impassioned speech.

When Gustavus disappeared a deep silence fell upon the assembly. At length the chancellor came forward, and invited them in the great difficulty in which they were involved to offer up their united prayers to God for guidance. "We have only the alternative to choose, either to follow the king, as he has proposed, and entreat him to carry on the government, or to pay him what he has expended for

the State, and to choose another king." They were, however, too much confounded by the scene which they had witnessed to determine anything that day. Thuré Johnson put on an appearance of resolution and bluster, and marched to his lodgings preceded by a drum, as if to announce a victory, and to express his joy at the result. He exclaimed, as he marched on, that "he defied any man to make him a Lutheran or a heathen." But when in the meeting on the next day the Lords and clergy did not come to any decision, the peasants grew impatient, and said if all things were well considered Gustavus had done them no injury, and that unless the nobles soon settled something, they would take the matter into their own hands. The merchants and shopkeepers supported the peasants, and the burghers of Stockholm declared that they would hold that city for the king. Magnus Sommer, Bishop of Strengness, declared that the Bishops did not wish to be so protected as to leave the kingdom a prey to its worst enemies. The declaration was received with great applause. Many declared that they would have no other king but Gustavus. They desired to hear a discussion upon the differences of the Catholic and the Protestant doctrines. Accordingly, Olaus Petri and Peter Gallé argued the question until late in the day. The peasants compelled Gallé, who commenced the discussion in Latin, to speak in Swedish. The impression left by this discussion was favorable to the Reformation.

While these events were in progress in the Diet, Gustavus held his court at the castle surrounded by his military staff, and passed the time with them in various diversions. His whole bearing was that of a man who had been relieved of a heavy burden. But on the third day the burghers and the peasants said to the nobles that if they chose to be the ruin of the king and kingdom, they with the aid of the king would ruin them; and that they had already sent a message to the king to that effect. Thereupon several of the nobles entreated Thuré Johnson to cease his opposition to the king. He sullenly agreed to do so, on condition that the king

would agree not to lead the people into any heresy. The Diet accepted his consent, and took no notice of the condition which he attached to it.

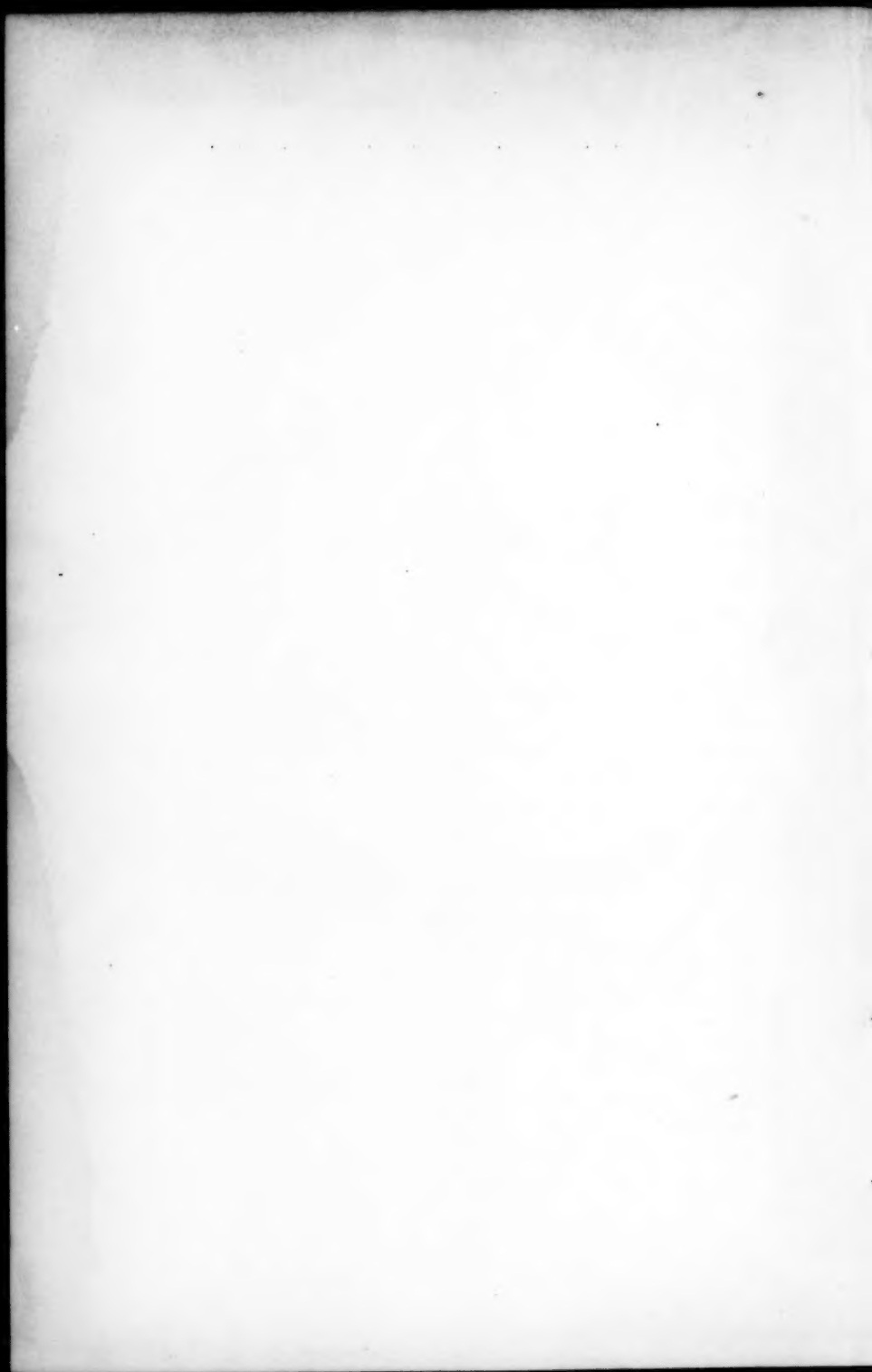
Thereupon Lars Anderson and Olaus Petri were sent to Gustavus to entreat him still to hold the throne. They were met with a short and sharp refusal. On their return they prayed that if any further communications were to be made to the king, it might be by other messengers. Knut Anderson and the Bishop of Strengness undertook the task; but they also came back unsuccessful. The anxiety now became intense. The future before the Diet now seemed to be a civil war, and the re-appearance and perhaps the reinstatement of King Christian. The prospect was too dreadful to be contemplated with composure. All opposition vanished, and the Diet became an importunate supplicant. The last committee that was sent to the king fell on their knees and wept. The king at length relented, and consented to meet the States on the following day. His long resistance to these appeals can as well be reconciled—perhaps better—with the theory that he was sincere in his purpose to abdicate the throne, as to that which would regard the whole proceeding as a skillful scheme to bring the Diet to his feet, and to secure their pledges of unconditional surrender and obedience. For if he were sincere and desirous to withdraw from a conviction that he could not succeed in his government, unless the Lords and people became more loyal to him, and more ready to aid him in putting down the priestly party, he certainly would refuse to revoke that decision, and persist in his refusal until he should be convinced that such a change had been wrought in the feelings of his opponents as would seem to furnish a guaranty that hereafter he might rely upon their hearty co-operation and support.

On his appearance in the Diet, attended by his State Council and a splendid life-guard, he was received with hearty demonstrations of applause. Now the three estates,

the nobles, burghers and peasants with one voice sanctioned his demands.

Gustavus had triumphed. His foes were, for the time at least, silenced, if not reconciled. Thus far the Reformation has been seen struggling for life and recognition. Hereafter we shall see it established, indeed, but violently opposed, and still compelled to unceasing warfare with foes who postponed its complete ascendancy, and hindered its full development. During all the remainder of the reign of Gustavus, his history at the same time *is* or *involves* the history of the Reformation.

C. M. BUTLER.



THE COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

THE question it is proposed to discuss is, the Comprehensiveness of the Anglican Communion, and by that is meant, What are the limits which the formularies, authoritative teachings, and traditions, of the several Churches embraced within that communion, fix as the terms necessary for full standing and fellowship of clergy and laity respectively? The first question to be asked is, Can we discuss the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Communion as such? Is there one standard for all the Churches coming under that designation? Or have the different branches each their own terms? Are the terms of communion in the Churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and of this country the same; or are they broader in one, and more limited in another? Or are all the Churches derived from the Church of England committed to maintain the same terms of communion as determined by the standards of that Church? To answer these questions we must decide what is meant by the Anglican Communion, what the terms or bonds of cohesion are for that communion. It does not mean simply

the Churches in communion with the Church of England. For the Old Catholic churches of the Continent may now be said to be in communion with that Church. Their clergy and laity are received to Communion in Anglican churches, and ours in theirs, and their clergy have officiated in our churches on marked and distinguished occasions, as on some connected with the late Lambeth Conference, and our last General Convention. Yet the Old Catholics are not parts of the Anglican Communion. The word Anglican implies a race distinction. The Anglican Church is that distinctive communion of churches of the English-speaking nations which have derived their descent from, and have maintained the essential features of, the ancient historic Church of England, and each of which has moreover bound itself to adhere to the general features of that Church. Thus, the Church in the English colonies, even where disestablished, is still known as the Church of England, retains identically the same liturgy and articles, and is to a certain extent still organically connected with the Church in the mother country. The Church of Ireland declares in its constitution, adopted since its disestablishment, that it "will maintain communion with the sister Church of England, and with all other Christian Churches agreeing in the principles of this declaration," which includes maintenance of the Three Orders of the Ministry, reception of the Thirty-nine Articles and Book of Common Prayer, as set forth in 1662, the profession of the "faith of the Primitive Church," and protest against "all those innovations in doctrine and worship whereby that Faith hath been, from time to time, defaced or overlaid." So our own Church acknowledges in the preface to the Prayer Book that it derives its descent from the Church of England, and that it is "far from intending to depart from 'that Church' in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." And in the correspondence with the English Bishops, which resulted in obtaining the Episcopal succession, it was asserted in a communication to the English Prelates, signed by all the members of the con-

vention held in Philadelphia, 1785, that "we are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships that we neither have departed, nor propose to depart, from the doctrines of your Church." And it is admitted that "while doubts remain of our continuing to hold the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England, we acknowledge the propriety of suspending a compliance with our request," viz., for the consecration of Bishops. And it was on this understanding and compact that the Episcopal succession was obtained.

Thus this congeries of Churches of the English-speaking people, derived from a common source, using substantially the same formularies, and committed by their fundamental declarations of principles to the maintenance of the same position, and being in full and unreserved communion with each other, may be properly said to constitute a distinct communion, with a definite position, history, and polity of its own. In other words, the different national Churches now embraced within what is known as the Anglican Communion, either at one time belonged to the Church of England, or were directly derived from it, and are distinct from the Church of England only so far as separate nationalities necessitate separate ecclesiastical organizations, and have not departed from the doctrine, polity, or policy of that Church, but have each and all expressly denied any intention of so departing. It is very important that this should be understood, otherwise our subject would be limited to a discussion of the comprehensiveness simply of the Church in this country, and in judging of that we should be confined to its own peculiar formularies and its comparatively short history, instead of considering as well the formularies, and canonical law, and history of the ancient, great, and powerful body from which it is derived. If it is argued that our Church only professes, not to, have departed from the Church of England in any "*essential*" of doctrine, discipline, or worship," and that it is at liberty, while retaining the more important characteristics of that

Church, to alter the terms of communion in regard to minor points, the answer is that anything affecting the terms of communion is essential. It is assumed, therefore, that the comprehensiveness of all the Churches of the Anglican Communion is the same, and by studying the constitution, formularies, and authoritative teachings of them all, we are to determine what are its limits.

In the first place, then, it will be noticed that all the Churches of the Anglican Communion claim to be part and parcel of the ancient Catholic Church of Christendom, and assert that they maintain the faith and constitution of that Church in its primitive character and purity. The third of the Constitutions and Canons of the Church of England affirms that "the Church of England is a true and Apostolical Church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the Apostles." The Constitution of the Church of Ireland declares that it is "the Ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Ireland." So our own Church in many ways makes the same claim, and acknowledges itself bound by the authority and the teaching of the primitive Church. To determine then the limits of the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Communion, we must determine what are the terms of communion in the Catholic Church. In other words, in studying the subject, we must take into consideration what were the limits of communion in the primitive Church, at least what have the authority of œcumenical decisions of the ancient undivided Church, for it is to that authority the Anglican Church constantly appeals, and that is the position she professes to maintain. Her standards are professedly based on this idea, they rest on the authority, profess to be the constitution, and embody the spirit of the primitive Catholic Church. To understand and rightly interpret the very formularies therefore of the Anglican Communion, we must study the history of Catholic Christendom, and learn what from the beginning has been the comprehensiveness of the Church, what the conception of the Church was as it came forth fresh from the hands of its founders. That that

idea was a simple and comprehensive one, can hardly be doubted. The Apostles received the single commission to go forth into all the world, announcing the glad tidings of the inauguration of a kingdom of God upon earth, through the advent of One looked forward to by the Jews as the Messiah. This announcement was to be made to all men without distinction of race or nationality, and every creature that accepted it was to be baptized, and being baptized was to pray to God in the simple formulary of the Pater Noster, and to celebrate the memorial of the sacrificial death of the Messiah. Different classes of officers were commissioned for the propagation and government of this communion, and in time, the Gospel narratives of the life and teachings of its founder, and the authoritative injunctions of its apostles were added for the instruction of the faithful. But beyond these there was no written constitution, no code of laws, no standard of belief. As the Church spread, however, and divergences of belief and practice began to appear, the necessity for more distinct and explicit standards was felt. But though each Bishop was regarded as the seat and source of authority, he could not act without his fellow-bishops. No formularies or rules of faith could be imposed upon the Church without the common consent of all. As heresies or departures from the Church's discipline arose, therefore, the Bishops came together to agree upon forms to express the true faith, and enact laws for the Church's government. In this way arose the great Creeds, and the decisions and canons of the œcumenical councils, which, being received afterwards by the Church at large, have always been regarded as of universal obligation, as determining both the faith and the discipline of the Church. To these councils and to the common teaching of the early Fathers the Anglican Communion appeals. As claiming to be part of the Catholic Church, she must necessarily recognize the authority and be bound by the universally received decisions of the undivided Church. In this way, therefore, the limits of her comprehension are determined in regard

to all those great doctrines of the faith which were settled by the early Church, and the general principles of her discipline so far as it has not been modified by subsequent legislation. The Anglican Communion accepts the whole body of Catholic divinity. She has not originated a theology. She has not invented a new constitution for the Church. She has never professed to condemn all the centuries of Christian history; on the contrary, she again and again appeals to the teaching of the ancient Fathers and the decisions of the early Church. But an authority in order to be of force for the determining of her comprehension, must be an undisputed authority. The teachings of a single doctor may have weight, the action of a single diocese or a single province may furnish a strong precedent. But nothing but a doctrine or a canon which has been universally received can have binding authority upon the Anglican Communion, as a part of the whole Church. Even the decrees of general councils are not binding, unless they have been afterwards received and confirmed by the general consent of Christendom, because none of those councils contained even a majority of the existing Bishops of the Church, or could be considered as a fully qualified representative of the Universal Episcopate.

So that when we come to enumerate those articles of faith or rules of government which can claim this authority, we shall find that they are comparatively few and simple. The really œcumenical decisions of the Church cover only such fundamental matters as the nature of the Godhead, the Person of Christ, the Episcopal constitution and government of the Church, the Canon of Scripture, the use of a liturgy, the observance of the Lord's Day and the Christian Year. But beyond this, and in the opinions in regard to, and in the details of, many of these things, there is still left vast room for differences, both of theory and practice. The ancient doctors of the Church indulge often in the wildest speculation, differ vastly from each other on some of the most important truths and principles of action. There have

always been varying schools of thought in the Catholic Church. While she anathematized and cast out of her pale those who denied the fundamental verities of her faith, she allowed a large tolerance of belief in regard to matters, the nature of which had not been so precisely revealed. So in regard to practice, the Church ever manifested a marvelous elasticity and power of adaptation, not only to peculiarities of race and temperament, but to apparently the most diverse conceptions of life and duty. Perhaps the most complete and stern asceticism begotten of any religion was developed and nourished in the bosom of the Catholic Church. While at the same time co-existing with it, there obtained and flourished, even in the very priesthood, a totally opposite idea, a secular, a married, even a luxurious clergy. And the same Church embraced within her fold every grade and variety of human society and condition of life, from the emperor on his throne, clothed with the pomp and power almost of an oriental despot, to the Ethiopian slave, despised and manacled, whose very life was at the mercy of his master. Each was admitted to her communion, recognized and ministered to by her. No human institution has ever been so flexible, so comprehensive as the Catholic Church. The very conception, the fundamental theory, of the Church necessitated that she should be so. It was only when the pride and ambition of the Roman Pontiffs sought to fasten upon the Church an individual government, and transform it to an earthly empire, that this idea was lost, and bulls and constitutions and decretals were issued which were inconsistent with it, and gave rise to tyranny and persecution and incurable schism. It was against this usurpation of the Popes, the attempt to enforce articles of belief and terms of communion which have not been universally received, that the English Church protested. She denied and resisted the claim of the Bishop of Rome to universal jurisdiction and right to govern the Church without the consent of his peers. And her position is equally one of protest against the sect idea, which is, that it only is holy, that

it alone has the whole truth, even though it be opposed by the voice and consent of the major part of Christendom. It would require a treatise to prove, first, that in theory, and historically, the position of the Catholic Church, prior to the Roman usurpation, was one of wide comprehension, and, secondly, that the Anglican Church has reverted to that position, and deliberately reaffirmed it. But it is thought that every fair student of history will admit these facts, will admit that the Church, as originally formed, was intended to embrace all men, that in order to fulfill that intention the terms of its comprehension were made few and simple, that historically for many centuries they were so, and that the Churches of the Anglican Communion professedly claim to have received and act upon that idea, and that they are the truest existing embodiment and representative of it. We turn, therefore, simply to see how far their peculiar formularies and history substantiate this position.

There were many circumstances combining to make the English Church, since the time of Henry VIII., assume the position of a wide comprehensiveness. The Reformation in England was to a great extent a political rather than a religious movement. The chief motive, actuating at least those in authority, was the desire of freedom from the restraints and exactions of the Pope, who had long claimed and exercised the position of a temporal sovereign, presuming to dictate and lay his commands upon kingdoms in regard to temporal as well as spiritual concerns, enforcing his will by excommunication and interdict, and the employment even of the temporal powers of neighboring sovereigns, and at all times exacting vast sums for his support, a practical tribute from subject nations to a supreme sovereign. It was from this thralldom that the political rulers of England sought to be free and which prompted the denial of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, rather than any great dissatisfaction with the teaching or worship of the Church. And for years afterward, even through the reign of Elizabeth, there was a marked clinging fondness remaining

among vast numbers of the people for the traditions and the ceremonies of former times. At the same time this movement in England occurred simultaneously with the Reformation on the Continent, which was a more purely religious movement, and was carried to so much greater extremes, and it necessarily affected the English Church. Especially the sojourn of the English refugees upon the Continent during the Marian restoration of Roman authority had great effect in indoctrinating members of the Church of England with the principles of the Continental reformers, and creating the desire of assimilating that Church in all respects to the other reformed bodies. And though through other circumstances, chiefly the possession of a Catholic Episcopate, and the moderation with which the Reformation had been conducted in England, this was prevented, still it had its effect, both in creating a school of theology similar to that of, and in necessitating the comprehension within the English Church of those who were in entire accord with, the Continental reformers. And as almost from the beginning the English Church comprehended the old Catholic and the moderate Puritan parties, so later, and again chiefly from its connection with the Continent through the Hanoverian kings, it found room for the Latitudinarians, which have formed so prominent and important a school of thought within it. And from the circumstances predominant at the time of the translation of the liturgy, and adoption of the formularies and articles, this idea of comprehensiveness was necessarily admitted. If the influence of one party is seen in the adherence to the Catholic constitution, the Catholic claims, the Catholic rites of the Church, the influence of the other is manifest in the more or less distinctly Calvinistic articles, though even these were so modified as to admit of subscription in a Catholic sense. Thus one of the astutest historians of England has called the English Church "a compromise." There are many circumstances to show that this spirit of comprehension was prevalent in the modifications she underwent at the separation from Rome, and in

each succeeding revision of her liturgy, such as the adoption of the ornaments rubric, enjoining the Edwardian vestments, while yet the use only of a "comely surplice" was permitted, the requirement of kneeling for the reception of the Sacrament, but the addition of the Black rubric to satisfy the scruples of the Puritans; the rubric saying that the finest wheat bread "shall suffice" for the Communion, evidently implying that the ancient wafer might still be used. And where, as in Scotland, Ireland, and the United States, the original English formularies and liturgy have been further modified, it has almost always been with a tendency towards even greater freedom and latitude. The churches of the Anglican Communion, wherever they have been planted, and throughout their whole history, have ever embraced different parties, different schools of thought. They, and they alone of all existent Christian bodies, exemplify and act upon these principles of comprehension which we have insisted upon as belonging to primitive Catholicity. The great Western Church has become in fact what it is in name, the Roman Church. It receives its government, its theology, its rites from Rome. It no longer recognizes its Divine Founder or the Universal Episcopate as alone having authority to determine concerning Faith and Morals; it has submitted to an absolute obedience to a single Bishop. While, on the other hand, the various Protestant bodies, apart from the fact of having lost the ancient Episcopal Constitution of the Church, have nearly each of them the arrogance to maintain that it, and it alone, is capable of judging and prescribing what is to be believed, even upon some of the profoundest speculative questions upon which Christendom has always been divided, and consequently separates itself from, and practically anathematizes all the others.

There are three distinct conceptions of the Church of Christ. One is that there should be absolute unity and uniformity, which it is the right of a supreme and infallible human authority to prescribe and enforce. That is the

theory of the Church of Rome. Another is that unity is of no importance, but that it is necessary for those who conceive that they have the true idea of the faith and nature of the Church, to preserve it at all costs, even that of separation from all others professing to be Christian. That is the sect idea, which has given rise to the multiplied divisions of Protestantism. The third, of which the Anglican Communion is the chief, if not the only representative, is that there should be unity in the essentials, both of faith, and discipline, and worship; but those being maintained, wide divergences in regard to matters not essential may not only be tolerated, but encouraged. This, we assert, must necessarily be the theory of any body that claims to be, or can have any hope of becoming, a Catholic Church. It is only in regard to essentials that there has been positive revelation, or anything like general agreement among Christians. Only such things should be, or can properly be made, terms of communion, and while Christians do agree upon those essentials, there is no reason, but positive wrong, in differences on minor matters, causing breach of fellowship and division in the Christian body. We admit, of course, that the different Churches of the Anglican Communion have not always been equally consistent in maintaining this principle, that occasionally the dominant party of the time has sought to exclude or restrict the others, has tried to reduce the Church to the conception of the sect. But such efforts have never materially prevailed, the standards and history of the Church have been a potent protest against them; but it is a danger to which the Church is exposed, and there is great necessity that the idea of comprehensiveness should be clearly understood, distinctly recognized and acted upon. We believe that the facts to which we have pointed demonstrate that this idea belongs to, and is fundamentally inherent in, the constitution of the Anglican Communion, and as it constitutes one of her truest claims to Catholicity, so it should at once be both one of her greatest glories and greatest elements of strength.

Still, while as a general principle it may to a certain extent be acknowledged and recognized, there may be yet differences as to just what should be its limits, where the line of comprehension should be drawn. And it is of the utmost importance that some general principles at least should be agreed upon as a guide for drawing that line. It is admitted that it must necessarily be difficult to draw, but it is premised, that if comprehension is recognized as a desirable thing, the error, if any, should be committed on the side of laxity rather than over-strictness, as greater danger of injustice would arise, and greater harm be likely to accrue, on the whole, to the Church from the latter than from the former course. Yet so great is the heat of party feeling, and so strong is the persuasion that one is right and those differing from us wrong, that there is constant danger of a dominant party, forgetting the comprehensive principles of the Church and enforcing its own peculiar opinions to the exclusion of others. And even where no such feeling exists, it is still difficult in extreme cases to determine how far the comprehension should extend. In agreeing, therefore, upon principles for guidance in its determination, the first postulate should be that of error on the side of comprehensiveness, rather than exclusiveness. Surely it will be wiser and nobler in the Church to be intent upon becoming as expansive as she can, upon embracing within her fold as many men, as many minds, as many temperaments as she can, rather than to be occupied in drawing her lines straighter, making herself more exclusive. In the second place, a distinction must of course be drawn between clergy and laity, and the principles will vary as regards doctrine, discipline, and worship. The laity are not teachers. And while it is the Church's duty to instruct them, still they are of every grade of intellectual capacity, and are placed in every variety of moral condition. So that necessarily the terms of communion for them must be simpler than for the clergy. Thus the Anglican Church demands for lay communion subscription only to the Apostles' Creed as regards

belief. This is the requirement for Baptism and Confirmation, and they admit to Communion. The Church is to see that her children learn the whole catechism, and are "taught all that a Christian ought to know and believe," but the only profession of belief demanded is in the Apostles' Creed. The Church uses other creeds and more explicit statements of doctrine in her forms of worship which she imposes on her laity. But the laity are left to their own conscience in regard to the sense in which they use those forms. Even though they express their disbelief in some of them, though it were an act of great presumption, a grave misdemeanor requiring censure, they still cannot be deprived of communion while they adhere to the Apostles' Creed. So in regard to discipline, it may be that in this matter the Anglican Communion is over-lax, that she has departed from primitive standards, it may be that the efforts that are often made to provide more effective discipline for the laity may some day be effectual, but as it stands now, there is no discipline for them, unless their crime is an open scandal. Only "open and notorious evil liver" may be, by her formularies, excluded from communion. This, however, does not prevent or exclude the paternal, and perhaps more effectual, discipline of the warning, pleading, and exhortation of the pastoral office. But such are the actual terms of comprehension for the laity, and certainly nothing could be broader and more Catholic.—As regards the clergy it is different: they are the representatives and agents for the Church both in her teaching, discipline, and worship; for them she must be more careful as to the liberty she allows, and yet she makes it as wide as possible.

The clergy, in regard to doctrine, are required in the ordinal to acknowledge their belief in the Canonical Scriptures, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and they promise to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments of Christ, "as this Church hath received the same," and they may be tried and deposed for "any act involving a breach of that vow," or for "holding or teaching publicly or pri-

vately and advisedly any doctrine contrary to that held by the Church to which they belong," and even where actual subscription to the XXXIX Articles is not required, they are so far "established" as a statement of doctrine as to be a standard by which the teaching of the clergy may be judged. But further it is to be noted that a clergyman cannot be deprived, except by due process of canonical trial. If we look then at these terms of subscription, we shall find that they are largely comprehensive. Every view of the Inspiration of Scripture may be held, provided it is still believed to be the Word of God; every theory concerning the Sacraments, provided the statements in the Articles and Catechism in regard to them be not controverted, and any opinion as to matters of theology, or morals, or the teachings and traditions of the Church which is not evidently contrary to the Creeds, formularies, and articles of the Churches of the Anglican Communion itself, or to the undisputed decisions of the undivided Church. Of course ecclesiastical trials in one part of the Anglican Communion might make different determinations from those in another part, but decisions which have been rendered in the past, especially when they have been made by trained judicial minds, should certainly have great weight, and the historical fact that the Church has without question comprehended men of such varying opinions as Laud and Burnet and Tillotson, Forbes and Thirlwall, Pusey, Bennet, Maurice, Stanley, to come no nearer home, must be incontestable proof of the width of its comprehension, the room it affords. And yet this breadth is not due to mere lack of discipline, to having absolutely no limits. A Colenso, a Vorsey, a Newman, an Orby Shipley, and others have been deliberately adjudicated, or have felt themselves to have become, beyond the pale of that comprehension, and have so been excluded. So while the clergy may be disciplined for doctrine, it is only when they have manifestly overstepped the bounds of the largest tolerance, denied what belongs to the essentials of the faith. But if this position is true, it is asked does it not involve

confusion and weakness and harm, if in the same communion a man may go, on the one side, to within a hair's breadth of mere Deism and denial of the distinctive Christian verities, and, on the other hand, another may approach almost to the position of the Church of Rome? But the answer is, first, that if these extremes exist, and yet each does hold the essentials of faith, that it is better, less harm is done by their existing together in the same communion, than if an actual separation took place, and the body were divided. And, secondly, that the grievance is more imaginary than real. There are other ways by which the Church is purified, than by discipline. Most clergymen are honest and real seekers after truth, and if their views become inconsistent with Anglican formularies, their own moral sense will lead them to abandon an untenable position. And often the divergences are less than they appear, or on unimportant subjects. Then, again, differences are useful. They excite thought and attention, and call forth the generous rivalry and enthusiasm of varying schools. One counteracts another. Each has generally but a half truth, and needs the others for its complement. What one neglects, another will insist upon. And then though all may teach, they cannot all convince, and though some unwary ones may be led astray, the truth is mighty and will prevail, and the surest way to make it prevail is to let it have free course.

But to turn to the question of worship, what is the comprehensiveness of the Anglican Communion in regard to it? At first sight it would seem that in a Church with a liturgical worship, especially one not particularly rich in the variety of its forms, there would be little room for differences. And perhaps the Anglican Church has erred in not allowing as much divergence in this respect as she might. Perhaps a little less stiffness in this particular might have prevented the exodus of the Non-Conformists, might have retained the Methodists within her pale, might have enabled her, especially in this country, to have adapted herself more readily to all the varying grades and conditions

of our national life. Still the prefaces to both the English and the American Prayer-Books fully recognize the wisdom and propriety of the forms of worship, being varied and adapted to changing circumstances. And as those Prayer Books stand, they are capable of being used in greatly differing ways. The whole service may be musical or it may be said, it may be so interpreted and accompanied as to be the embodiment of an imposing ritual, or it may be so rendered as hardly to be distinguished from the simplicity and baldness of worship of most of the Protestant bodies. There are many important adjuncts of worship, concerning which the rubrics and canons of the Anglican Churches are either altogether silent or indefinite in their directions, and a great variety of uses can, and as a matter of fact do, arise in regard to them. And no little irritation has arisen in consequence among those who do not believe, or desire, that the Church should be comprehensive in this respect. It is urged that the great advantage of a liturgy is that it secures uniformity, so that one moving from one parish to another may find it easy to join in, and enjoy, and find suited to his taste the worship wherever he may go. And further it is objected that doctrines and practices alien to the teaching of the Church, may be taught and introduced in this way. But the answer is, first, that there is a question of right involved in this matter. The Anglican Church has always allowed different modes of worship, her rubrics have never contained the minute prescriptions of some of the older forms. There have always been the statelier choral worship of her Cathedrals, Colleges, and Convocational services, and the simpler forms generally prevailing in her parish churches. Her rubrics expressly sanction the arrangement of her chancels, either with the Holy Table standing altar-wise, or as a Table in the Body of the Church. In the English Cathedrals and Royal Chapels those Tables have always retained their candles, and the ornaments rubric in the Church of England has remained, in its plain letter, allowing the use of all the ornaments and vestments recognized

in the first book of Edward VI. Whatever then can be proved to have come historically within the comprehension of the Anglican Communion, its members are certainly entitled to; not simply in the Church of England, but in the other churches as well, unless by direct legislation, as now in the Church of Ireland, many of those things have been excluded. Then, secondly, as a matter of expediency, is it not well that differences should be allowed? There is the greatest variety of human taste and temperament. What suits one individual or one class of people does not suit another. To one the voice of music and a solemn ceremonial is absolutely necessary to an elevating and devotional service, to another they are a positive hindrance. Should not then the Church like a careful mother provide for all her children? Must she not, if she would hope to embrace all within her fold, adapt herself to the varying capacities and needs of men? Is it possible, if her service is of one rigid, inflexible type, that it will be suited for all? And is it not far more necessary that she should consider the all important subject of reaching and embracing every one, rather than sacrifice that, to the consideration of the inconvenience that some might suffer from not being able always to have the forms they most prefer? And to the objection that the allowance of divergences opens the way for the teaching of false doctrine, the answer is that it is unnecessary, and as a matter of policy a mistake, to insist that particular forms must have a specific signification. It is purely arbitrary to maintain that a candle, a vestment, or a genuflection must mean a particular thing. Where there is no necessary connection with doctrine, it is simply unwise and impossible to insist that a certain ornament or ceremony must always have the same definite meaning. The doctrine may be taught without it, and if it can be taught, the form is of little importance. Moreover, is it expedient, in regard to the Church's relation to the past, and to the other great divisions of Christendom with which it may hope one day to coalesce, to cut it off from the forms and ceremonies

of the earlier, or other, Churches, with which it might thereby more readily harmonize? And why should they who simply desire the enrichment of the worship and are helped and elevated by the beauty and glory of ritual, a thing so elaborately provided for under the old dispensation, and which the wisdom of the Catholic Church so quickly adopted, be deprived of its assistance and advantage? And, on the other hand, why should those who are best assisted by simpler forms not be allowed to have them? Of course, it is not urged that the comprehensiveness of the Church in regard to worship should be without limit, that there should be absolute freedom in regard to it. There are certain fundamentals, especially in the sacramental offices, which should be invariable, and a large power of supervision and restraint should be lodged in the Chief Pastors in regard to it as we believe has been, by all Catholic custom. But the liturgy itself should be flexible, and the Bishops in making their decisions in regard to it, should act upon the principle of the broadest comprehensiveness and expediency, should allow all that can possibly come within the bounds of Anglican tradition, or belongs to the Catholic heritage of the Church, or further still, that can even plausibly hope to make the Church better fitted to embrace and hold each succeeding generation.

That the influence of the Church may be lessened and curtailed by an over-strict adherence to forms which may have become antiquated, and to the over-sensitiveness and superstitious dread that many have of the introduction of anything belonging to other Communions, must certainly be evident to intelligent, unbiased minds. And the Anglican Church will certainly be truer to its principles, and add to its power, by exhibiting as wide a tolerance in this respect as its does in regard to doctrine.

As to the comprehension of the Anglican Communion in her system of discipline of her clergy, the rule is again necessarily stricter than for the laity. The clergy can be tried for any crime, whether it be openly scandalous or not,

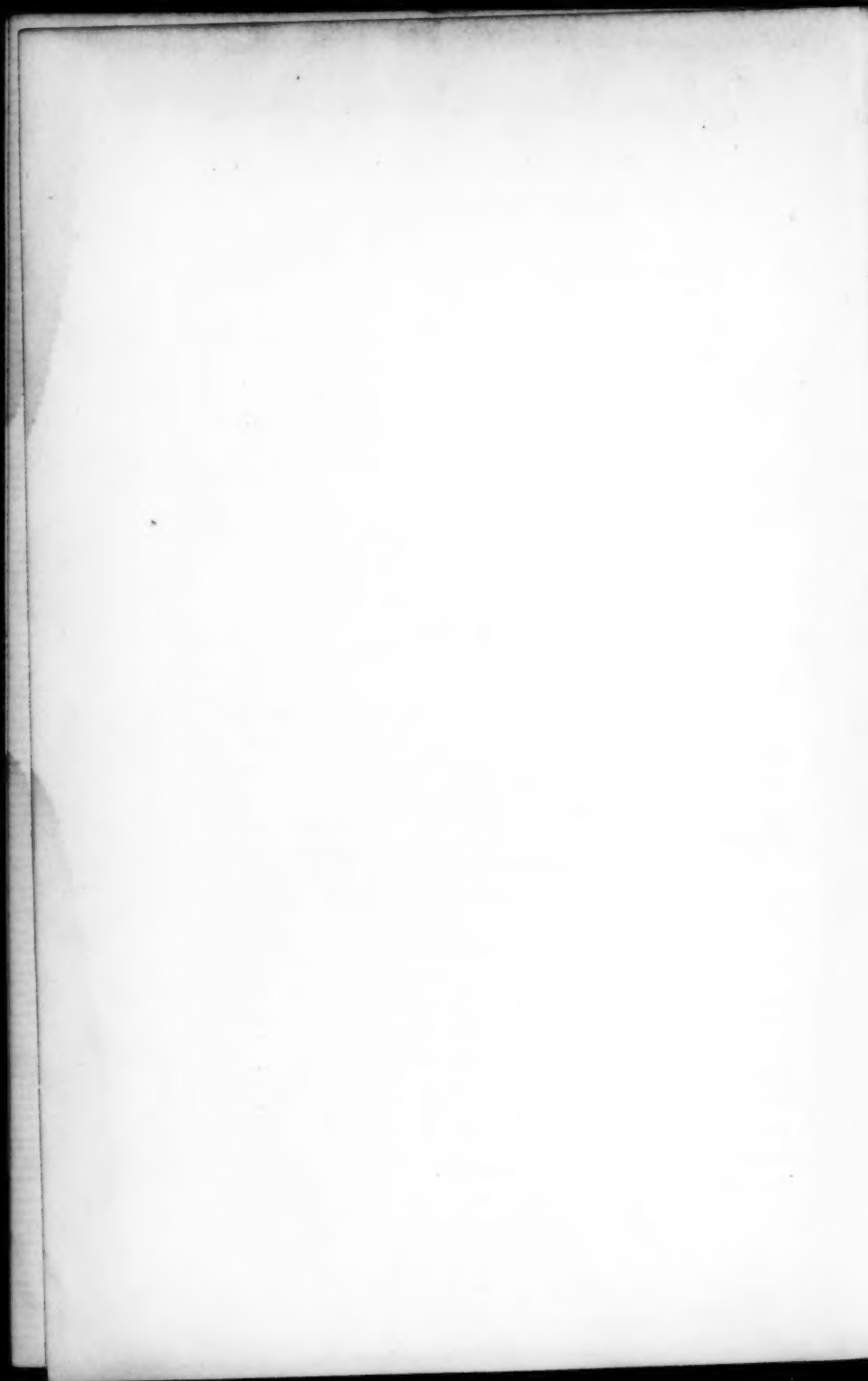
or for any violation of the Constitution or Canons of the Church. But at the same time she avoids that over-censoriousness and dictation in regard to minutiae so conspicuous among the sects, she leaves much to the fatherly, gentle government of her Bishops, and her whole history proves that she regards the safest and best course to exact a high standard of qualification for those she admits to her ministry, and then to leave a wide latitude and discretion to those who are themselves teachers.

To these principles of comprehensiveness, we believe the Anglican Communion to a great extent owes her Catholic authority, and the strength of the position she holds, and the influence she exercises. And if she has not always in the past presented, or does not now present, as fully as she should, the ideal, and accomplish the work, of a pure effective branch of the Catholic Church, it is also to a great extent because she has not as fully realized and acted upon these principles as she should.

The whole tendency of the age in which we live is towards freedom and toleration. The Church of Christ was the first to teach that lesson, and she has been strong and spread in proportion as she has adhered to it.

May she ever be preserved from the narrowness and bigotry, and the treason to her formularies and her history, which would reduce her to the position of a single school, and dwarf her to the proportions of a sect!

GEORGE WOOLSEY HODGE.



CHRISTIANITY PROVED BY THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

(SECOND ARTICLE.)

IN a former article an attempt was made to exhibit some of the direct testimony to the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the present paper I shall endeavor to set forth a part at least of the circumstantial evidence, and shall then pass on to the conclusion of the whole, the main proposition of both articles—that if the Resurrection is once proved all the essentials of Christianity follow from it.

First, however, we must pause to take a brief survey of what is alleged on the other side.

In the first place and as a matter of course a great deal is made of alleged improbabilities and inconsistencies in the narratives. It requires volumes to develop and other volumes to explain these difficulties, and the discussion is manifestly incommensurate with the size of a review article. But fortunately there are two well-established principles which deprive such a discussion of a good deal of its importance, and enable any one to form an intelligent and well-founded opinion without going into its details. These two principles are the following: 1st. Improbabilities in

a story do not destroy or even seriously impair the value of positive testimony in its favor, especially if supported by evidence of a circumstantial character. 2d. Apparent inconsistencies are of little moment, provided there is any imaginable hypothesis by means of which they may be reconciled. Archbishop Whately in his "Historic Doubts" has given a well-known illustration of the first; and Lee, in his "Lectures on Inspiration," quotes from Ebrard a narrative of actual occurrences which form a striking illustration of the second. But if these principles are accepted, as indeed they must be, all we are bound to inquire is whether there is any probable way in which the discordant particulars can be harmonized, and when we ascertain that there are really many ways, we need inquire no further. In that fact we have enough to assure us that the inconsistencies are not such as to invalidate the testimony.

A far more important matter is to ascertain how the objector deals with the positive testimony. There can be no doubt that vast numbers of people living in Judea in the beginning of the first century of our era believed that Christ had risen from the dead, and many averred that they had seen Him; and this belief has been the most potent factor in the history of the world ever since. How does the objector account for the phenomenon? Can he explain how the delusion arose and was propagated? It is manifest that if he can he will at once destroy the force of a great deal of the testimony. This has always constituted an exceedingly interesting and instructive branch of the study of Apologetics, and one is hardly in a condition to judge fairly of the strength of the positive evidence until he has seen the weakness of that which can be alleged against it.

A great many have taken refuge in evasion. Thus Schenkel declared that if we have the spirit of Christ the corporeal resurrection is of little moment; the risen Christ lives in His Church: and Baur averred that for the belief of the disciples the Resurrection of Christ was incontestably certain, but avoids any declaration of his own belief. More

recently Dr. Abbott, in the work entitled "Through Nature to Christ," is less openly but more deeply guilty of evasion. He first professes a belief in the Resurrection on the ground that the great change in the bearing of the disciples is otherwise unaccountable, but he then goes on to declare that the mere bodily Resurrection is of small importance, and that the great thing was the rising of Christ to new power and influence in the hearts of His disciples; and then, feeling apparently that he is thereby treating as a cause the very circumstance which hitherto he had been regarding as an effect to be accounted for, he adds that this phenomenon was both the cause and the sign of the change in the Apostles' bearing. This is very much as if we should assign as the cause of a drunkard's reformation the fact that he had resolved to drink less wine, and should then add, as a further explanation, the remarkable statement that this inward resolve was both the cause and the sign of the evident outward improvement. In all these cases the evasion is equivalent to a confession of weakness, for nothing would better harmonize with the theories these writers advocate than the disproof of the Resurrection: when they avoid the discussion of it such avoidance is a plain indication that they have nothing important to allege against it.

Schleiermacher and the older rationalists denied the Resurrection by saying that Christ was only apparently dead. However plausible this theory of "Scheintod" may at first appear, the difficulties which beset it are so great that it seems to be now universally abandoned. It has been seen that practised Roman executioners would not be likely to make a mistake so serious, and eminent physiologists have declared that the attendant symptoms not only indicate death with certainty, but point with clearness to the proximate cause of its occurrence. Still another reason for believing that Christ could not be regarded as having awaked out of a mere swoon is the consideration that in that case He could not have aroused in His disciples that undoubting and undying faith which they displayed, and which is part of the

problem to be solved. This reflection drew forth from Strauss a scornful repudiation of the theory, so forcibly expressed as to deserve quotation: "One who had thus crept forth half-dead from the grave, and crawled about a sickly patient, who had need of medical and surgical assistance, of nursing and strengthening, but who, notwithstanding, finally succumbed to his sufferings, could never have given the disciples the impression that he was the conqueror over the grave and death, and the Prince of Life. Such a recovery could only have weakened, or at best given a pathetic tinge to the impression which he had made upon them by his life and death; but it cannot possibly have changed their sorrow into ecstasy and raised their reverence into worship."*

The irreverent familiarity of the language may perhaps be excused when we remember that the imaginary condition described is expressly repudiated by the author, and the vigorous blows which he thus dealt at the hypothesis of "Scheintod" have damaged the theory so much that now perhaps no one can be found willing to defend it.

It has been succeeded by the theories of a later age, and three of these demand especial attention.

First, let us examine that of Strauss himself, although from the mass of his destructive criticisms it is difficult to extract a connected statement of what he would suppose to have actually taken place. Indeed he would have contended that it is quite impossible now to determine what the real events were. His destructive comments we may pass over, for the reasons already given. He lays it down at the outset that an actual death and an actual resurrection cannot both have taken place. "The cultivated intellect of the present day has very decidedly stated the following dilemma: Either Jesus was not really dead, or He did not really rise again."† Having shown in the words already quoted that the first supposition is untenable, he is under the strongest obligation to establish the second. But such a situation is

* "*Leben Jesu*," p. 298, quoted by Christlieb, p. 456.

† "*Life of Jesus*," ii. 843.

very unfavorable to a calm, judicial investigation, and accordingly very little of that characteristic is displayed by him in the discussion.

The key to the solution of the whole mystery he finds in the conversion of S. Paul. That which then occurred he assumes to have been, not an objective vision, but only a subjective impression, and inasmuch as the Apostle places the appearances to the other disciples on a level with that to himself, Strauss arrives precipitately at the conclusion that they also are to be accounted for in the same way. As long as the disciples remained in or near Jerusalem they could not invent or receive the idea of the resurrection, for the first whisper of such a notion would be refuted by the presence of Christ's body still reposing in the sepulchre. Accordingly, immediately after the crucifixion, he supposes the disciples to have returned to their own homes in Galilee. Some of the women remained in the Holy City, and they no doubt thought they saw the risen Jesus. Such an idea was not entertained by the Apostles until the lapse of considerable time. By degrees, reflecting upon the promises of the Messiah in the Old Testament, they began to think that it was appropriate there should be a resurrection; then that it had occurred; and, finally, that they had themselves seen and conversed with the risen Christ. All this occurred at a distance from Judea, and where the growing myth could not be disproved by the production of the crucified Body. Only when it had become firmly implanted in the mind of the Christian community and when it was no longer possible to draw forth from the sepulchre a mute confutation of the story did the idea appear in Jerusalem. But this is certainly a rather unsatisfactory account. Why is the testimony of the women treated as of such slight moment? If the body of Jesus was still in the tomb, why were they not immediately undeceived of their false impression? If it was not in the sepulchre, what had become of it? Strauss appears to believe it was still there, for no tolerable hypothesis can be constructed to account for its disappearance. Without

speaking of the Gospels, what right has Strauss to ignore the statement in the Book of Acts, whose genuineness he admits, that the Apostles in Jerusalem, seven weeks after the death of Jesus, publicly proclaimed His resurrection, and declared that they had themselves beheld Him on the third day after His crucifixion? If the body of Jesus was still in the sepulchre it was even then not too late to confute their assertion. Will it be believed that the only reason alleged for rejecting the narrative is the statement that the event occurred on the day of Pentecost? But that was the anniversary of the giving of the Law, and for the new Gospel to be first published on that day would be such a striking coincidence that it cannot have actually occurred, and proves a falsification of history. As well might we dispute the historical account of the death of Jefferson and the elder Adams because it is alleged that they both died on the Fourth of July.

The testimony of S. Paul in 1 Cor. xv. is admitted to be genuine and sincere, but no explanation of it is given which can be reconciled with admitted facts and the well-known character of the Apostle.

There are many specific reasons for rejecting this theory, which have led to its practical abandonment; but I pass them all by in order to come to one of a comprehensive character which applies to the hypothesis as a whole. It might be a very plausible way of accounting for a merely general statement of the Resurrection, unaccompanied with any details, but it utterly fails to account for the narratives full of minute incidents recorded in the Gospels. While legends or myths may invent incidents and conversations, they cannot be expected to confine themselves to the sobriety displayed in the Bible. If the appearances of the risen Jesus were the inventions of a myth-creating spirit, they would have contained luxuriant features which are now entirely wanting; appearances would have been granted to enemies as well as friends—indeed, nothing but the Apocryphal Gospels can give us an idea of the extravagances we should in

that case have had recorded, and they seem providentially preserved in order to show us what Christian myths would be like. But we need not dwell longer on an abandoned theory.

Rénan makes a more elaborate if not a more successful attempt to show how the "mistake" may have originated. He contends that the disciples were prepared for something of the kind by that tendency which prevailed throughout antiquity to invest heroes with supernatural honors after death. Accordingly, Mary Magdalene, coming to the sepulchre early on Sunday morning, finding it empty, and meeting the gardener, readily mistook him for Jesus, and returned to the disciples with the joyful intelligence that He had risen. Later in the day two of them walking into the country and meeting a stranger who talked with them at great length, jumped to the conclusion that he was the risen Jesus. Returning immediately to Jerusalem, they found all of the Apostles except Thomas gathered together, and joined with them in eagerly hearing and narrating all that had been seen and heard. While they were in this excited and expectant state a passing breath of wind or a chance murmur was enough to convince them that their leader was in their midst, speaking to them in intelligible language. Thomas refused to believe unless he could receive more convincing proof, and this was in some way afforded: the writer does not tell us how, but assures us that a mild stain always rested on the reputation of the saint because of the slowness of his faith. I believe this to be a fair statement of the mode in which *Rénan* accounts for the rise of the Resurrection idea. He does not scruple to say that the loving imagination of the woman's heart of Mary gave birth to the creative dogma of Christianity.

But surely any one will see abundant reasons for decisively rejecting this hypothetical sketch of what occurred. There is no reason for supposing the disciples either did or could have anticipated the Resurrection beyond that which is afforded by the uncomprehended prophecies of Christ Him-

self. The practice of investing favorite heroes with supernatural honors after death was not a Jewish but a heathen custom, but neither among Jews nor heathen did it take the form of imagining a resurrection of the dead. It was satisfied with ascribing to them divine honors in another world. The mysterious disappearance of the Body this writer makes, as far as I can see, no attempt whatever to account for. But especially it must be said that these suppositions of mistake, accidental noises, and the like, while sufficient to account for a momentary panic in a group of frightened children, are absurdly inadequate to explain a settled belief on the part of sober-minded men that they had shared in long conversations and had made most careful examinations in order to satisfy honest doubts. Nothing but the charm of a style which seems to be rated at even more than its full value can account for popular blindness to the weakness of such conjectures.

But the most recent, the longest, and the most pretentious attack upon the resurrection is that contained in a work entitled "Supernatural Religion," published in London in the year 1877. The author's criticisms and suggestions agree in some respects with those of Strauss and Rénan; and as far as this is the case the remarks made upon those writers need not be here repeated. I will confine myself to certain points wherein he seems to differ from his predecessors.

The chief point to which he devotes his attention is the unfolding of what is known as the "Vision Hypothesis." According to this theory certain internal mental impressions, produced no one can tell how, were mistaken by the disciples for objective realities, and led to the wide-spread conviction that Christ had risen from the dead. In order, however, that their minds should be in such a state as to render a mistake of this kind probable, the writer dwells upon the supposed superstitious character of the age and upon anticipations produced by Jewish prophecies. This temper of mind may be regarded as so much combustible material ready for ignition. Rénan, as we have seen, found

the spark which set the whole in a blaze in the mistake of Mary Magdalene taking the gardener for Jesus. Our present author makes a more portentous conjecture, and one so strangely out of proportion to the circumstances which it is invented to explain, that I doubt if it would be possible to find its parallel. The writer evidently feels called upon to suggest something out of which the whole delusion may have grown, but his best endeavors can evolve nothing better than the conjecture that the disciples made a mistake as to the sepulchre, went to the wrong one, and finding it empty jumped to the conclusion that Jesus had arisen, although His body was really reposing where it had been laid. The author does not seem to reflect that such a mistake, even if it occurred to one or two, would not be likely to occur to all, including Joseph of Arimathæa, the owner of the tomb; and even if it did, would hardly survive more than the first expressions of incredulous wonder. It would have been corrected by the smallest examination. But I need not mention reasons for rejecting the supposition: they will occur to any one who reflects but a few moments upon the subject. The old fable of the Mountain in labor seems here to be reversed—the parturition of a mouse is announced as the cause of the birth of “the mountain of the Lord’s House:” an absurd mistake, unlikely to occur and certain to be at once corrected, is gravely alleged in explanation of a belief which ever since has been and still is gradually dominating the world with its influence.

The belief thus wonderfully born had to be nourished and the appearances recorded in the Scriptures had to be accounted for; therefore it is that the writer has recourse to the “Vision Hypothesis,” and to it we must give our careful consideration. The thing to be explained is the fact that the disciples undoubtedly thought they had several interviews with Jesus after He had risen from the dead. The writer prepares the way for his theory in the following manner:

“It seems to us that the points to be determined are

simple and obvious. Is it possible for a man to mistake subjective impressions for objective occurrences? Is it possible that any considerable number of persons can at the same time receive similar subjective impressions and mistake them for objective facts? If these questions can be answered affirmatively—and it can be shown that the circumstances, the characters, the constitution of those who believed in the first instance favored the reception of such subjective impressions, and equally the deduction of erroneous inferences—it may be admitted that a satisfactory explanation can thus be given of the apostolic belief on other grounds than the reality of a miracle opposed to universal experience, little as we feel bound to give any such explanation at all.” *

Both of these questions may be answered affirmatively. The first admits of no dispute, and even the second may be looked upon as almost indisputable, though with regard to it the assent would have to be somewhat qualified. The controversy does not involve the truth of those principles, but their application to the case before us. The long discussion, therefore, which he devotes to these points might well have been spared, and so likewise the quotations from Dr. Carpenter and other scientific authorities, for nearly every one would admit what the author contends for without any argument whatever. But while this is the case the illustrations given are surprisingly weak, and betray the fact that however true the principles are they do not apply to the story of the Resurrection. The following instance is quoted from Dr. Tuke in proof that a “dominant idea” will sometimes falsify the perceptions of a number of persons at once: “During the conflagration at the Crystal Palace in the winter of 1866–67, when the animals were destroyed by the fire, it was supposed that the Chimpanzee had succeeded in escaping from his cage. Attracted to the roof with this expectation in full force, men saw the unhappy animal holding on to it, and writhing in agony to get astride one of the

* “Supernatural Religion,” iii. 536.

iron ribs. It need not be said that its struggles were watched by those below with breathless suspense, and, as the newspapers informed us, 'with sickening dread.' But there was no animal whatever there; and all this feeling was thrown away upon a tattered piece of blind, so torn as to resemble to the eye of fancy the body, arms, and legs of an ape."* The author does not expressly state that he alleges this trivial incident as parallel to the connected conversations supposed to have taken place between the risen Lord and His disciples, nor is it easy to see how any one with the use of reason can so regard it. But although the writer shrinks from calling it a parallel case, he evidently hopes it will be so considered, for otherwise there would be no meaning in its introduction at all. And here we might well pause for a moment to reflect what strange intellectual positions men will sometimes be brought into by a resolute disbelief.

But although the writer's two fundamental principles may be admitted, although they will account for stories like that of the Chimpanzee, although perhaps they might account in the judgment of a few for some of the briefer appearances of Christ, yet they cannot explain the story of the walk to Emmaus, the conversation on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, or any other of the longer and more complex interviews. While fully admitting that the influence of a dominant idea may falsify the impressions of a number of people at once, this admission will not avail to account for the impression that long conversations were held and certain definite remarks made. As far as these things are concerned, the Scripture narratives cannot be accounted for by the "Vision Hypothesis" or any other species of hallucination. If they are not true they are pure inventions, and we shall then have to explain how a forgery came to be used in support of a pure system of morality, and how a gross falsehood came to be propagated by those who in every other respect showed the nicest regard for truth. I would not

* "Supernatural Religion," iii. 533.

entirely deny that such a thing could ever be. The phenomenon may have been witnessed in the Church. But the probabilities are against it; and in this instance it is abandoned as a solution.

The "Vision Hypothesis" must likewise be abandoned, although it would seem that stronger and better illustrations of it might have been adduced than any that are given in the volume before us. Whatever of this kind, however, may be alleged, there are four tests which the Scripture visions of the risen Saviour easily endure, under which all these miscalled parallel instances immediately break down. It would take too much time and space to comment upon them at present. It will be sufficient to state them and leave the application of them to the reader.

1. In visions the appeal is generally made to only one sense, and only one sense is deceived. The risen Lord, however, manifested Himself to the senses of sight, hearing, and touch. If there was any deception, all of these were deceived; and not these only, but the critical faculty and argumentative reason likewise were addressed—as in the walk to Emmaus, when He reasoned with His disciples out of the Scriptures, and on the shores of Galilee, when He discoursed with S. Peter and S. John.

2. A vision is generally seen by only one person or at most by one group of persons. Christ was believed to have appeared to one person at a time, to two, to eleven, to five hundred.

3. A vision is either on a single occasion, or, if repeated, it is under similar circumstances or conditions. The risen Christ, however, appeared on various occasions and under widely differing circumstances.

4. In the case of a merely subjective vision no after effect remains beyond what may be traced to a single definite impression on the mind of the spectator. But, as will be shown presently, during the first century of the Christian era there were witnessed various effects which can only have been caused by instructions given by our Lord during His Resurrection Life.

These four particulars constitute a marked difference between the appearances of Christ and those which can be ascribed to "dominant ideas" and "subjective impressions."

I have now passed in review all of the main theories which have been invented to do away with the direct evidence and account for the rise of the Resurrection-idea. They are seen to be total failures: the direct testimony stands unshaken, and we are now free to examine that of a circumstantial character.

Circumstantial evidence has some advantages and some disadvantages, when compared with direct testimony. On the one hand it is less exposed to the suspicion of fraud, but on the other hand its utterance is less explicit. The facts of which it consists point unmistakably to some event which must have been their cause; but of course the details of that event are not always indicated, and there may be room for a difference of opinion with regard to them. In the case before us, for instance, circumstantial evidence may be adduced to prove the general fact of the Resurrection of Christ, although none is forthcoming to bear witness to the specific interviews recorded in the Gospels. This latter circumstance, however, is of small moment if the evidence is of such a character as to point unmistakably to the one central fact which we are considering.

In exhibiting the circumstantial evidence, we are meeting the second of the two demands of Strauss. The conditions without which he professed himself unable to believe in the Resurrection are two. The direct testimony must be shown to be historical, and it must be proved that, without the Resurrection, other events which are indubitably certain could not have taken place. About the first of these conditions there may be some indefiniteness, but the only reasonable way of understanding it seems to be to take the word "historical" in the sense of cotemporaneous, and to interpret the condition as meaning that the testimony must be shown to be the sober evidence of eye-witnesses. This is a reasonable condition, and has been amply satisfied, although this

is not the place to produce the proof. It forms a distinct department by itself, and therein it has been abundantly demonstrated that the books of the New Testament were written at the time to which they have been generally assigned. The former article has shown that, even without absolute certainty on these points, there is ample historical testimony. The present article concerns itself with the second of the two conditions, and aims to prove that events have taken place which could not have occurred unless the Resurrection of Christ had previously happened.

The present line of argument will be found also to correspond with the four famous tests which were laid down by the Rev. Charles Leslie in his "Short and Easy Method with the Deists." These were tests by which any alleged historical occurrence might be tried. Many events that are indubitably true would not endure the trial, but none that does could possibly be considered false. The four tests are these :

I. The matter of fact must be such that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it.

II. It must be done publicly, in the face of the world.

III. Not only must public monuments be kept in memory of it, but some outward actions must be performed.

IV. Such monuments, or such actions and observances, must be instituted and commence from the time that the matter of fact was done.

These tests are nothing but a convenient mode, although a severe one, of trying the truth of an alleged occurrence by the rules of circumstantial evidence, and therefore it may be well to employ them in the present investigation.

The first two of these tests were manifestly fulfilled in the Resurrection of Christ. The alleged appearances of the risen Saviour appeal to the senses of sight, hearing, and touch.

They were public in the sense that they were not secret, but were manifested to a number of people on various occasions, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, and on one occasion to above five hundred people at once.

The points to be inquired into are, what public monuments or outward actions are maintained in commemoration of the event, and whether these can really be traced back to the time when the occurrence is believed to have taken place. The word monument is used in a very general way, and includes outward actions and observances, so that in this sense an institution, a rite or a ceremony would be a monument.

The first to be adduced is the Christian Sunday, and the points to be established concerning it are, that it was instituted at the time the Resurrection is believed to have occurred, and that it could not have been instituted unless the Resurrection actually had occurred.

The former of these two propositions is easily proved. Our investigation may well begin with the year 321, in which Constantine the Great issued his imperial edict enjoining the cessation of business on the "venerable day of the Sun." Going back from this date it is easy to discover as many as nine different references to the day, in ecclesiastical and other writers, between that year and the year 104, in which Pliny alludes to it in his celebrated letter to Trajan. These references occur at brief intervals.

For the time prior to the year 104 we have to rely upon evidence supplied by the New Testament, wherein five different incidental allusions prove that the First Day of the week was observed in some way in memory of the Lord's Resurrection even from the first, beginning with the week after the event. When we reflect upon the character of the Jewish people, how devoted they were to their own institutions, especially the Sabbath, we shall see that it was impossible for such a sacred day to arise among them unless there was a deep and wide-spread belief in the Resurrection. We may therefore consider it established that this monument arose at the very time of the alleged occurrence; but the real difficulty lies in determining the answer to another question. Is it true that the institution of the Lord's day, at that time, proves the actual occurrence of the event, or

does it only prove a wide-spread belief in it? On the answer to this question depends the validity of the argument. It will be convenient, therefore, to postpone the answer to it until we have first considered some of the other facts that bear upon the question.

The next point to be mentioned has to do with a dispute known in Church History as the Quartadeciman Controversy. It is impossible to say when this first arose, but it comes into view about the year 146.* The Eastern and Western Churches had long differed as to the proper time of keeping Easter. The Asiatic Christians, being mostly of Jewish origin, and clinging fondly to Jewish customs, contended that the Paschal feast should be kept each year on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan, and the Festival of the Resurrection three days after, no matter what day of the week it might happen to be. The European or Gentile Christians, on the other hand, cared little about Jewish traditions, but were very strenuous that Easter should always be kept upon a Sunday. It is worth while to observe that this, the earliest dispute of much importance in the Post-Apostolic Church, was entirely concerned with the proper time for keeping the yearly festival in commemoration of the Resurrection, one party contending that it should be governed by the anniversary of the Jewish feast, on which it originally occurred, the other contending that it should be governed by some rule which should always bring the annual festival upon that day of the week which was appointed for its weekly celebration.

The latter view, as we know, finally prevailed, and its prevalence formed a triumph for those who regarded the Gospel fact as of more importance than the Jewish feast; but the point insisted upon here is that the mere existence of the controversy shows the importance which the early Church attached to the festival, and thus incidentally proves how profoundly men were impressed, both with the truth and the importance of the event which the festival commemorated.

* Bingham's *Ant.*, ii. 1150.

The Sacrament of Christian Baptism is the next fact to be alleged in evidence. From the very first this rite, administered as it usually was by immersion, was looked upon as representing the Burial and Resurrection of Christ, and making the recipient a partaker of all the benefits procured for His Church by the sufferings and triumph of the Redeemer. S. Paul says in his Epistle to the Romans, vi. 4, "Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death : that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." And to the Colossians, ii. 12, he writes, "Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead." The significance thus attached to the sacrament by the Apostle is recognized also in the "Apostolical Constitutions," a work which must probably be referred to the second century. This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus; the water is instead of the burial, . . . the descent into the water the dying together with Christ, the ascent out of the water the rising again with Him." *

It will hardly be disputed that this initiatory sacrament has always had this significance attached to it, and therefore it must be regarded as another monument which bears witness to the truth of the event we are considering.

The value of its testimony will depend upon the time when Christian baptism began to be administered; and if the Book of Acts is to be regarded as in any degree historical, a point which can hardly be denied by any sober-minded critic, the first administration took place on a Lord's day just seven weeks after the time at which it is alleged that Christ arose from the dead. It is, therefore, a contemporary monument.

There are other monuments, the nature and significance of which I cannot stop to draw out. The Holy Eucharist has always been regarded as incorporating the believer with

* Apost. Const., iii. 17.

Christ, and as making the faithful recipient one with Him. But such incorporation and such union presupposes a Resurrection of Christ, otherwise it would hardly be desirable. The Eucharist, therefore, is another monument of the Resurrection, and one that has borne witness from the beginning. Moreover, some of the early Liturgies are probably of greater antiquity than the Books of the New Testament, and they all contain testimony to the Resurrection deeply embedded in their petitions.

But there is another monument of more importance which we must pause for a few moments to contemplate. It is the Christian Church as a thoroughly organized compact society unquestionably in existence from a date immediately subsequent to the alleged Resurrection. The existence of this phenomenon necessitates a belief in some circumstance of extraordinary character and creative power as its cause, and the nature of the phenomenon will be found to be explicable only on the supposition of the fact to which it bears witness. Great movements do not arise without a cause any more than great rivers are found without a spring from which they flow, and the most natural explanation of the existence of the Church is that the fact to which it has borne consistent witness actually took place.

This, however, is stating the argument in its weakest form. The Apostles from the first acted with a singular degree of promptness and harmony in all their arrangements. Even those who imagine the early history of the Church to have displayed a much less thorough organization than we believe to have existed, confess that in very many respects the first Christians acted upon apparently well-understood and prearranged plans.

Gibbon mentions the unity and discipline of the Christian Republic as one of the five causes which he thinks would account for the success of Christianity, without supposing any supernatural assistance. But whence came this unity? How did it happen that these unlettered peasants spontaneously and unanimously adopted a polity which the

wisest and most learned nations have ever since been contented humbly to adopt and imitate! We shall presently see reason to believe that their unity proceeded not altogether from direct divine guidance, nor yet from natural concord; and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that the only way to account for it is to suppose that they were acting under instructions from the Founder of their Religion. But when were these instructions given? Not only is there no trace of them in the record of His life before the crucifixion, but at that time, when the disciples were so unable to grasp the merest idea of the spiritual kingdom which He had come to establish, it would have been manifestly impossible to instruct them in the details of the administration of that kingdom. There is, therefore, an antecedent probability in the statement of the Book of Acts (i. 3) that He instructed His disciples in these things during the time which He spent on earth after His Resurrection. The marvellous change in their bearing from timidity to dauntless courage is inexplicable, except on the supposition of some such event; and the thoroughly intelligent prepared manner in which they set to work can only be accounted for on the supposition of instruction given during the Resurrection life.

The Christian Sunday, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Quartadeciman Controversy, and the organization of the Church are therefore so many facts which could not have occurred unless Christ had previously risen from the dead. They are so much circumstantial evidence of the fact we are investigating. They are so many monuments of the event in question.

To this statement, however, there is one very obvious reply. It will be said that they prove that the early Christians believed Christ to have risen, and that many thought they saw Him after He had risen, but that they do not and cannot prove that this was not an entire delusion. This involves the second of the two questions to be considered in this article. These are, first, Are there any monuments

which date from the time when the event is alleged to have occurred; and, second, do the monuments really prove the actual occurrence of the event? The first question has been sufficiently answered. In reply to the second, the objector contends, as we have seen, that the evidence does not prove the actual occurrence, but only a deep and wide-spread impression, which may after all have been unfounded. This indeed seems to be the position of Strauss, of Renan, of the author of "Supernatural Religion," and in general of such modern unbelievers as have paid attention to the subject. They confess that among the contemporaries of Jesus there was a wide-spread conviction that He had risen from the dead, but assert that it was a delusion. To the consideration of this question let us now address ourselves.

It is freely admitted that if it was a matter of opinion and not a matter of fact, the evidence might prove the belief of the Apostles without proving that their conviction was correct. If the fact was testified to by a single witness we would have to confess that the credit of a single witness could hardly outweigh the intrinsic improbability of the fact. If the circumstance were proved by several witnesses, but occurred only in a single instance, and occupied only a brief space of time, then too there would be a probability that the witnesses might have been deceived. But these suppositions are all contradicted in the case before us. It is not a matter of opinion but a matter of fact which appealed to the senses of plain men. And while it is freely admitted that the senses may be deceived, yet there is a limit to what can be confessed in this direction. In this instance the senses not of one person, but of many were appealed to, and not in one instance only, but on several occasions. Nor did the occasions present similar circumstances, so as to suggest the suspicion that the recurrence of these might give rise to the deception, but the situations were so widely various as entirely to exclude such a possibility. Nor was only a single sense as that of sight involved, but the hearing and the sense of touch were also appealed to. We are

therefore justified in maintaining that it was absolutely impossible for the disciples to have been mistaken.

The impossibility may be further exhibited in the following manner: If a trustworthy person should allege that he had met another upon a street on a given day we would say it was possible he might have been mistaken. If instead of merely meeting the other he should declare he had stopped and conversed with him, while there might be room for mistake as to identity, this would be slight in proportion to the thoroughness of the acquaintance, and in most cases we would say it is hardly possible that there could be any mistake.

But, suppose several persons met the individual upon the street and saw him only for a moment, we would say they might indeed be mistaken; but if it should turn out they were deceived it would be regarded as a strange occurrence, and men would seek an explanation in the existence of some other individual bearing a strong resemblance to the one in question. If, however, they had been with him during a protracted interview, and had held a long conversation with him, then we would say there could be no mistake unless another person were known to exist bearing such a close likeness to the one first-mentioned that they could not readily be distinguished. Finally, if these several witnesses should assert that they had met the individual and conversed with him on various occasions during a period of six weeks, that these interviews were sometimes of considerable length, that he delivered discourses which they record, that some of the conversations were held with them singly, others with all of them assembled, we would say that while the senses may be deceived, yet in such cases as that here described mistake is out of the question. If no one of the interviews here spoken of took place, the witnesses were not deceived, but were willful deceivers. This is precisely the case with the witnesses of the Resurrection. If any one of the interviews with Jesus which they relate occurred, then Jesus really rose from the dead; if no one of them took place,

then they were conscious deceivers. But their sincerity has been demonstrated, and is now universally admitted. If therefore they were honest, and mistake is out of the question, nothing is wanting to make up a valid proof of the event.

But now I must return for a few moments to a point that has been already mentioned, but needs a little further expansion. The second of Strauss's conditions was that something must have taken place which could not have happened if the Resurrection had not first occurred. The fact which most exactly corresponds to this description is that order and discipline of the Christian Republic which has been already referred to. The argument here embraces two particulars : first, that these were such as to show that they proceeded from directions given by Christ Himself ; and, second, that these could not have been given before His crucifixion, and therefore necessitate an after-life in which they might have been given, and in which as a matter of fact the earliest Christian records declare that they actually were imparted.

No doubt there was a considerable variety in the arrangements adopted by the early Church, and some are disposed to exaggerate the differences ; but it is also certain that on a great many points, and those of the utmost importance, there was entire unanimity. The nature of the ministry, the administration of the two great sacraments, the management of public worship—upon these subjects there was agreement. This agreement can only have proceeded from immediate supernatural guidance, or from natural concord, or from the directions of some one person whose authority was recognized by all. Let us consider each of these possibilities in turn.

There are probably few who would deny the Resurrection, and yet believe that the Apostles acted under supernatural guidance. Some there are who take this difficult position, but the majority of those who refuse to believe the former would have still greater hesitation in accepting the latter. But however this may be, we have no reason for

believing in such guidance. The Apostles never claimed it except when they were assembled in council. Then indeed they wrote, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us;"* but on other occasions they made no such claim. They asserted divine authority for their teachings, but not for all their actions, and the few dissensions that arose, while not enough to destroy the general concord which still remains as a marvelous phenomenon to be accounted for, are quite enough to show that their conduct was not all under the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit.

Nor was their unity the result of natural concord. Those matters in respect of which they acted with promptness and unanimity were not topics on which men naturally agree. What the state of things would have been if they had not all been guided by a supreme authority, may be inferred by any one who will reflect how much men differ with regard to the ministry, sacraments, and worship as soon as they abandon the idea that these things have been ordained by God, and attempt to arrange them according to their own views.

The organization of the Apostolic Church must therefore have proceeded, at least in its main outlines and general principles, according to directions given by some one whose authority all would respect. There is no pretense that there was any such person except Christ, and therefore He Himself must have ordained the main features of the work. When was this done?

There is no indication that it was done during our Lord's earthly life. The first steps, but only the first steps, were taken toward constituting a ministry. The initial sacrament, that of Baptism, although alluded to by the Lord, does not appear to have been instituted before His crucifixion; and the other great sacrament, although likewise previously referred to, was only instituted the night before He suffered. His directions with regard to public worship were

* Acts xv. 28.

confined to the command to "Do this," and the giving of the Lord's Prayer. Nor was it really possible for Him at that time to give intelligible instructions about the details of the administration of His spiritual kingdom. The disciples showed an utter inability to grasp the idea of what that kingdom was to be. Even the few references which he made to the Sacraments before they were instituted were imperfectly understood, and the meaning of the references is denied by some on the ground that they could not have been comprehended. Instruction on these points, therefore, could not in the nature of things have been given before the crucifixion. Yet as soon as the Apostles are left alone they act upon all these subjects with promptness, decision, and unanimity, and this agreement of action is maintained although they are widely scattered over the face of the earth. Examine, for instance, the early Liturgies. There are great diversities among them, but they are such as exist among different members of the human family. Underneath the superficial variations are to be found the same essential vital parts. This is only one instance of a uniformity which in many other instances co-existed with considerable diversity. This agreement, therefore, constitutes a phenomenon which demands an explanation. The Book of Acts (i. 3) mentions a fact which furnishes a solution. The Forty Days which our Lord spent on earth after His Resurrection were mainly devoted to teaching His immediate disciples in what way they were to organize and conduct the infant Church. With this explanation all is plain and clear. Without it the history of the Apostolic Church is an insoluble riddle. The Apostles acted with decision and unanimity because they were engaged in carrying out very definite instructions given them by their Master.

If we now review the course of this argument we shall see that the four tests of Leslie have been entirely satisfied. The Resurrection of Christ was a fact of which men's senses could judge. It appealed to the senses not of one person, but of many. Monuments, actions and observances, such

especially as Sunday and Christian Baptism, bear witness to it. And these monuments date from the very time of the alleged matter of fact.

Moreover, the two demands of Strauss have been complied with. The testimonies to the Resurrection have been proved to be historical, and the organization of the infant Church has been shown to have been impossible without the Resurrection. I know not what more is required for complete circumstantial evidence.

Having first ascertained that the occurrence of the Resurrection is a matter to be determined by evidence, the testimony both of a direct and circumstantial character has been shown to be the very strongest that the nature of the case admits. It is questionable whether any other fact in ancient or modern history is so well authenticated. A learned writer, by no means inclined to accept traditional views or believe in the supernatural, has asserted that it is better attested than the assassination of Julius Cæsar. But the comparison does less than justice to the strength of the case; for if we look for original testimonies to the murder of the great Roman, we shall be surprised to find how little is forthcoming. Unless we assume an attitude of dogged and willful unbelief, in spite of evidence, we must believe that Jesus Christ, after being crucified, dead and buried, rose again from the dead, according to the Scriptures.

The misfortune is that it is so easy to hear the statement and assent to it without duly appreciating its importance or the consequences that follow from it. It is probable that no one could really believe that Jesus Christ after being dead in the ordinary sense of the word rose again to life, walked among men, conversed with them, and shared in their pursuits, without feeling that the belief in these statements must necessarily have an important bearing upon his life in all other respects. It is probable that no one who has been theoretically an unbeliever could be convinced of the Resurrection without finding his conviction shaken as to the soundness of his theories in other respects. This revision of

his views would not rest consciously upon any logical basis, but would be spontaneous and necessary, and probably universal. No man who believed that Christ rose from the dead would find any difficulty in believing that He raised to life others who had been dead, or that he walked upon the waters, or that he changed the water into wine. The acceptance of the greater miracle would render the acceptance of all inferior ones comparatively easy—a point about which it was not worth while to contend. But it may be well to show that this spontaneous feeling can be logically defended. The remainder of this article will therefore be devoted to showing the consequences which can be reasonably deduced from this single fact. The reasoning here, however, will be of a different character from that which has preceded. In proving the fact of the Resurrection an attempt has been made to rest it upon a strict induction from admitted facts without any assumptions whatever, and the evidence is believed to constitute as valid a demonstration as can be applied to any fact whatever. But when we look upon the fact as being established, and seek to ascertain what inferences follow from it, we must be content with less rigid processes, and remain satisfied with probabilities. The whole field of controversial divinity lies before us, and while it may be shown that the main particulars of the Catholic Faith may be deduced from the fact before us, yet it cannot be pretended that the details of the Faith can be inferred with the same certainty as the great central fact upon which the whole rests.

Supposing, then, that Jesus Christ really rose from the dead, the question we have to ask ourselves is, what follows from that circumstance?

In the first place, an admission of the Resurrection of Christ would seem to involve the necessary abandonment of all materialistic theories. The reanimation of the crucified body would seem to be a demonstration of the reality of spiritual existences, such as no material philosophy could possibly resist.

In the second place, all other atheistic forms of unbelief would seem to be entirely inconsistent with the admission of this fact. If the existence of God, according to Mill, renders the occurrence of miracles no improbable event, so, on the other hand, the unquestioned occurrence of a single miracle would seem to point with unerring certainty to the existence of some supernatural power altogether greater than any that comes within the scope of our observation. It cannot be said for a moment that the occurrence of a miracle demonstrates the existence of God. Much less could it be said that the occurrence of any particular miracle proves His possession of the attributes which Christianity assigns to Him. But it may safely be said that a belief in a single miracle, such as the Resurrection, is so entirely inconsistent with, and antagonistic to, an atheistic position, that the latter would not be maintained for a moment after the first had arisen.

There is a school of Christian believers who aver that they accept all the essentials of the Christian faith, but who seem to be filled with an invincible repugnance to all alleged supernatural occurrences. There is no miraculous event recorded in the Scriptures which they do not seek to minimize or explain away. While it could not be said that these people do not believe in the Resurrection of Christ, yet their language on other subjects is such as to raise at times a doubt of their belief in this central fact, and, at all events, we may think that if they dwelt more upon this great miracle and realized more fully the reality of it as a physical occurrence out of the ordinary course of natural events, they would feel less hesitation in admitting that the physical order had been departed from on other occasions.

There is still another class of believers who dwell so much upon the mystical or spiritual significance of events that they sometimes lose sight of the plain matter of fact, the meaning of which they so much emphasize. Such persons will dwell upon the moral and mystical meaning of Christ's Resurrection until here again a doubt will sometimes obtrude

itself whether these teachers really believe in the occurrence of the Resurrection as an historical fact. As a corrective of such a state of mind it may again be useful to dwell upon what may seem the hard, dry details of the external proof of this great event. In many cases it may be true that the moral meaning of an occurrence is so great as to overshadow the occurrence itself; but this cannot be maintained with regard to events in which the Son of God was an actor or a sufferer. Great as is the moral significance of Christ's Resurrection, nothing can make the historical fact itself a circumstance of less than the most transcendent moment. It is well for us at times to contemplate the event by itself in order that we may appreciate its greatness and its grandeur, viewed simply as an historical fact, and we shall then find that we can turn from such a contemplation with a renewed sense of the importance of its teachings.

Materialism, atheism, rationalism, and mysticism are therefore all antagonized by a belief in, and a vivid realization of, the historical fact of Christ's Resurrection. But it may be asked, "What bearing does this fact have upon the details of the Christian faith?"

It must be admitted that the working of miracles does not always involve an entire approval of the person benefited by them. But in this case such approval would seem to be necessarily involved. If He rose from the dead there is no reason to doubt that He did so substantially in the manner related in the Gospels. He was not therefore raised up through the mediation or in response to the prayers of some one else, but He Himself displayed the miracle in His own person without any intermediate agency. He Himself was at once the person by whom and the person on whom the miraculous power was exerted. Approval, therefore, of His Life and Teaching is necessarily involved in what took place. He was a religious teacher who for three years had spent His time in teaching a new system of religion and morality to His countrymen, intermingling His discourses with many deeds of mercy. His life and labors were sud-

denly terminated by a cruel death, but after a brief period of eclipse He is restored to life and continues and completes the work which He had begun. Certainly no other teacher ever received such an authentication of his doctrine or could exhibit such a seal of approval of his words. We cannot fail to have the fullest confidence in that which He delivered. A logical basis for this confidence may be found and expressed in the following words: Any man whose life was crowned with such a termination is such a startling exception to the rest of humanity, and stands in such an exceptional relation to the powers of the unseen world, as to entitle his teachings about that world to an exceptional degree of credit and authority. But this statement, which on reasonable grounds can hardly be denied, falls far short of expressing the full weight of the confidence which mankind would spontaneously accord to a teacher exhibiting such credentials. No man can really believe that Christ's life received such a signal stamp of approval and yet fail to give implicit credence to everything He taught. Let us now apply this principle in a few detailed instances.

If the Gospels narrate such a stupendous fact as that we have been considering so calmly and so utterly without exaggeration, there is no reason to distrust their record in other respects. We need not even yet take it for granted that they are inspired and infallible documents, but we may certainly assume that such sayings and doings of Christ as are not inconsistent or out of harmony with this great fact should be regarded as authentic. We find then that this Teacher who received such a startling confirmation of His words had claimed to be in a peculiar sense the Son of God, asserted an eternal pre-existence and an everlasting present existence in language which to the Jew then as to the Christian now would seem suitable only to the lips of Jehovah, and held Himself up to the gaze of the world as mankind's only help and comfort, as the sustenance, the guide, the refreshment, the light, the life, and the resurrection of the human race. This is part of the teaching which was con-

firmed by His own rising again, and justifies us in saying that He is "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God."

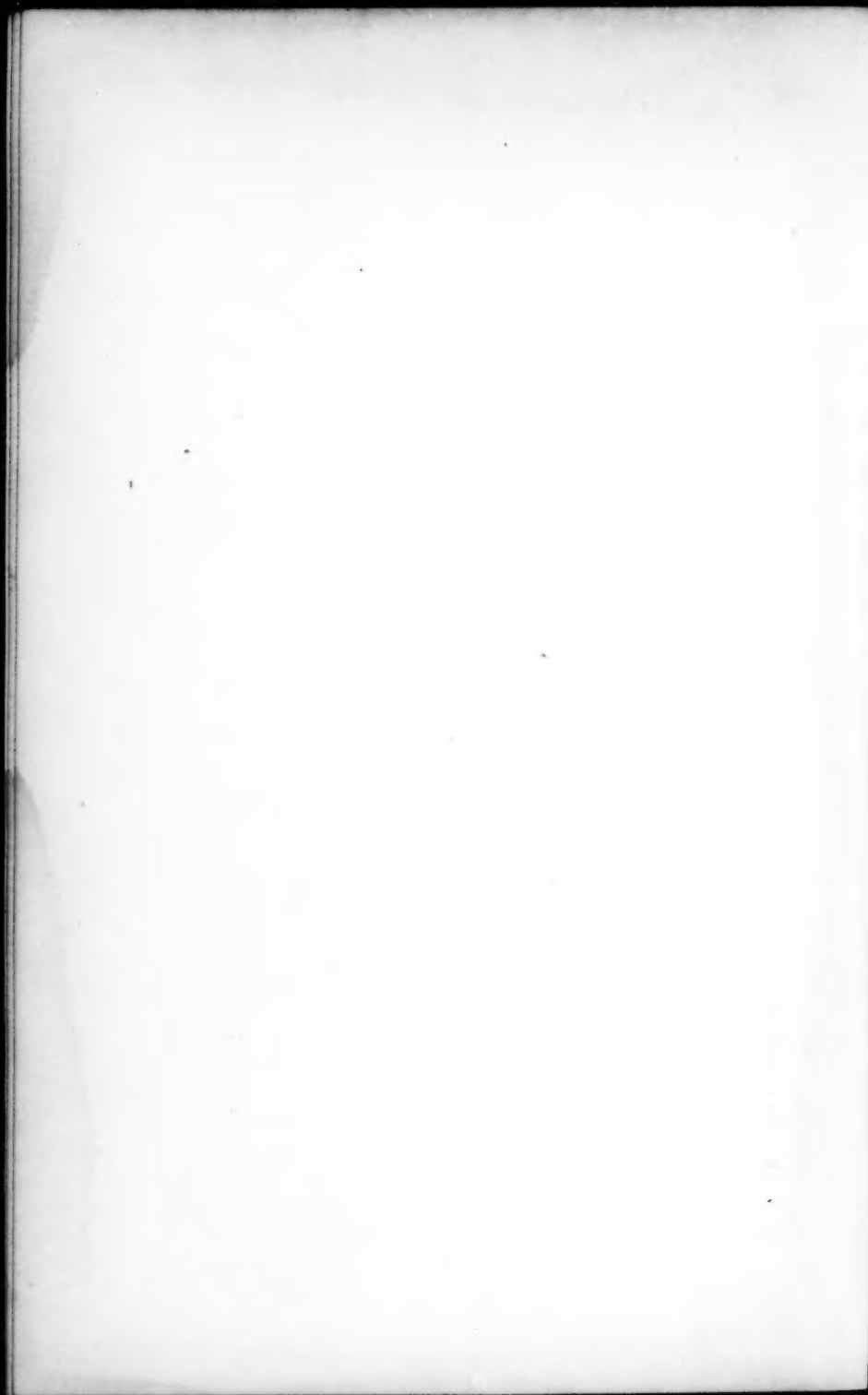
We turn to the consideration of other details with renewed confidence derived from the assurance that the Teacher was not only thus raised up, but was Himself the very Lord of Life and God of Truth. In this capacity He gave His sanction to the Old Testament Scriptures which were laid up in the Temple, and which the most rigid historical investigation shows to have been the same as the Old Testament which we possess. He not only sanctioned those old Scriptures as authoritative, but interpreted them likewise, showing us that His work and mission had been contemplated from the beginning and had been the one thing for which the whole preceding Divine Economy had prepared. We need not stop to point out how the light which He thus shed upon the Old Testament is reflected back upon Himself, and renders the events which mark His Life, Death, and Resurrection in themselves probable and the very things to be anticipated. It is sufficient that from His word we learn to regard the Old Testament as divine and authoritative.

Not only did He shed light on what had preceded, but also on that which was to follow Him. From His teachings we learn that He had come to set up a Church or Kingdom upon earth whose dominion was to be in the hearts of men, but which would nevertheless possess an outward and visible organization; that His presence would be with it until the end of time; that it would be guided into all truth; that however portions of it might fall away, the whole would never perish. From the same source we learn that He commissioned teachers to instruct mankind in the truths which He delivered, and preserve them for the instruction of future generations, while the Church, the other witness, testifies that this authoritative teaching is contained in the Books of the New Testament, which she stamps as canonical and inspired, and as having been written in fulfillment of the commission given by Christ. From these Scriptures as

interpreted by the Church can be deduced the Catholic creeds which contain all truths necessary to salvation. Thus it is that the whole substance of Christianity can be inferred from the proved fact of Christ's Resurrection.

It is freely admitted that in the foregoing argument very many things are neglected which render the main fact more credible, or tend to heighten the proof of it, but this has been done in order that the attention may be concentrated upon the single point of the historical demonstration. It is certainly true that this single fact is fraught with weightier consequences to humanity than any other that can be mentioned. Being so it would be gratifying if we could discover that to a sober-minded inquirer it rests upon a more solid basis of plain and accessible historical evidence than any other fact whatever. It has been the effort of these articles to show that such is actually the case, and that while the disproof of this event would involve the overthrow of Christianity, the proof of it entails the acceptance of all the essential points of the Christian Faith.

HENRY A. YARDLEY.



THE CENTENNIAL JUBILEE OF GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE decade 1780-1790 marks one of the most remarkable periods in the history of literature in general, and of German literature in particular. It is the classical period connected with the brilliant constellation in which Klopstock, Lessing, Kant, Mendelssohn, Wieland, Herder, Schiller, Richter and Göthe appear as stars of the first magnitude. In 1781 Lessing completed his remarkable career; in the same year appeared Kant's *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft*; the greatest, probably, of Mendelssohn's works, his *Phædon*, or, Of the Immortality of the Soul, had been given to the world as early as 1767; Wieland's *Abderiten* (The Republic of Fools), and his great romantic poem *Oberon*, had been published, the former in 1774, the latter in 1780; Herder's *Primitive Records of the Human Race* appeared in 1774, and his unfinished but greatest work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man), falls within the decade (it was published in 1791); at the opening of that decade Schiller had anonymously brought out his *Robbers*, and towards the close *Don*

Carlos; Göthe's *Leiden des Jungen Werther* had been followed by his *Egmont* in 1788; in the same year Richter startled the world with his *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren* (Selections from Papers of the Devil); Klopstock's great work, *The Messiah*, although begun at a considerably earlier date, was not concluded until a few years before that great decade, and his name, however much the general estimate of his works may have been modified, deserves certainly to be named in connection with the great writers already referred to, for Göthe's remark seems to us singularly apposite, and corrective of the wild enthusiasm which at one time cried him up as the German Homer; he said, "that while German literature was greatly indebted to Klopstock, who was in advance of his times, the times had since advanced beyond Klopstock." This epigrammatic criticism may be misconstrued, and deemed to convey censure rather than praise. It is intended to bestow more of the latter than of the former. Klopstock (born 1724, died 1803), though named last, deserves to be mentioned first; for he came first, and in some respects has stood first, and will stand first among the noble band of men who brought in the revival of letters, the abandonment of foreign and inglorious vassalage, the assertion of a natural and a national taste based on the purest and truest classical models. He reproduced in German with great skill and felicity the Greek hexameter, the sapphic, the alcaic and iambic. If not the Homer of Germany, in the opinion of some of the most competent critics the century has produced, he has been ranked higher than Pindar. His *Messiah* and his *Odes* will remain as standing monuments of his genius, and while the mould of his verse is Grecian, the thought is German, noble, pure and Christian. Menzel said of him: "Klopstock loses everything if he is closely examined and judged by single parts. We must look upon him at a certain distance, and as a whole. When we undertake to read him he appears pedantic and tedious, but when we have once read him, and then recall his image to mind, he becomes great and majestic. Then his two

grand motives, country and religion, shine forth in their simplicity and impress us as sublime. We think we see a gigantic spirit of Ossian, striking a wondrous harp, high among the clouds. If we approach him more nearly, he dissolves into a thin and widespread mass of vapor. But that first impression has wrought a mighty effect in our souls and attuned us to lofty thoughts." The meritorious service rendered by Klopstock to German literature can hardly be exaggerated by praise. He was a true interpreter of nature; he purified, refined and ennobled the German tongue; truly a German poet, in that he created a national consciousness, and inspired the noblest patriotism; a poet of the world, in that he sang of freedom in strains which we understand and applaud, but which to his contemporaries were either mysterious or misleading. Höltz, Voss, the Stolbergs, Miller, Cramer, Sprickmann, Leisewitz, Bürger and Boie in 1774 deemed him the prince of poets, and thirty years later, when Schiller and Göthe had earned their laurels on the same course where Klopstock had led, Voss wrote of him: "Ye patriots and lovers of patriotism, when ye come to the verdant banks of the Elbe at Hamburg, remember that here Klopstock the youth and Hagedorn, Klopstock the man and Lessing, worked with enthusiastic ardor for the glory of Germany. As Themistocles stood by the monument of Miltiades, so pause and muse, and lay a flower on his grave."

The odes of Klopstock are very numerous, and beautiful as to poetic conception, but singularly awkward as to expression. They are all in blank verse, in most difficult Greek meters not well suited to the German idiom, and on that account so inverted that we may call them crabbed. English translations of them without change of meter are next to impossible, if what is aimed at be their reproduction in our idiom. And that is probably the reason why Longfellow in his *Poets and Poetry of Europe* admitted the versions of W. Taylor, who was altogether too literal a translator to produce anything readable as poetry. Compared with

the odes of Dryden, Collins and Pope, those of Klopstock are not only crabbed but clumsy; while similar compositions in the antique mould by his great successors Schiller and Göthe show not only gigantic strides in the direction of classical finish, but the singular adaptedness of the German language to its reproduction. Lessing went much further than Klopstock: he freed himself absolutely from the fetters of servile imitation, from Greek, French and English models, and led the way in the natural style in seeking for motives in every-day life, and in the adoption of the finished iambic pentameter, concerning which Menzel says that Göthe only cultivated its melody and outward splendor, Schiller only its corresponding vigor, and that they and their imitators departed widely from the delightful naturalness and unpretending simplicity which it assumed in the hands of Lessing, claiming that the dramatic iambus has become too lyric, while in Lessing it was nearer prose, and much more dramatic. Among his works, which are quite numerous, and fill thirteen octavo volumes, *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti*, *Nathan der Weise*, and *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Education of Man) are the most celebrated.

Lessing was a man of the widest and most many-sided culture; he was at home in every department of literature, and stamped the impress of truth, gracefulness and impassioned strength on all he touched. As a writer, his forte lay rather in the direction of criticism, literature and philosophy, than in that of poetry; wit, acute and clear perception, sound judgment, mark his intellectual outfit; elegance, purity, fluency and vivacity his style; reverence for sacred things, independence and love of freedom are the groundwork of his mind, and goodness, amiability and tenderness exhibited in every relation, as husband, father, brother and friend, indicate the qualities of his heart. In his portraiture of the sterner sex he gives us finished characters full of human sympathies and manly honor, *e.g.*, Major Tellheim, Odoardo Galotti and Nathan, of the gentler, we point to

Minna, Emilia and Recha as examples of winsome tenderness, artless simplicity and engaging purity.

The famous passage of the ring in *Nathan*, which we here produce in condensed form, will enable the reader to become acquainted with his spirit and his manner :

Nathan. In days of yore there dwelt in east a man
 Who from a valued hand received a ring
 Of endless worth: the stone of it an opal,
 That shot an ever-changing tint; moreover,
 It had the hidden virtue him to render
 Of God and man beloved who in this view,
 And this persuasion, wore it. Was it strange
 The eastern man ne'er drew it off his finger,
 And studiously provided to secure it
 Forever to his house? Thus he bequeathed it,
 First to the most beloved of his sons,
 Ordained that he again should leave the ring
 To the most dear among his children, and,
 That without heeding birth, the favorite son,
 In virtue of the ring alone, should alway
 Remain the lord o' th' house.

From son to son

At length this ring descended to a father
 Who had three sons alike obedient to him;
 Whom, therefore, he could not but love alike.
 At times seemed this, now that, at times the third
 —Accordingly as each apart received
 The overflowings of his heart—most worthy
 To heir the ring, which, with good-natured weakness,
 He privately to each in turn had promised.
 This went on for a while. But death approached,
 And the poor father grew embarrassed. So
 To disappoint two sons, who trust his promise,
 He could not bear. What's to be done? He sends
 In secret to a jeweler, of whom,
 Upon the model of the real ring,
 He might bespeak two others, and commanded
 To spare nor cost nor pains to make them like,
 Just like the true one. This the artist managed.
 The rings were brought, and e'en the father's eye
 Could not distinguish which had been the model.
 Just overjoyed, he summons all his sons,

Takes leave of each apart, on each bestows
His blessing and his ring, and dies.

Scarce is the father dead, each with his ring
Appears, and claims to be the lord o' th' house.
Comes question, strife, complaint—all to no end;
For the true ring could no more be distinguished
Than now can—the true faith.

Saladin. How, how? Is that

To be the answer of my query?

[*Viz., Judaism, Islam or Christianity?*]

Nathan. No,

But it may serve as my apology;
If I can't venture to decide between
Rings which the father got expressly made,
That they might not be known from one another.

Saladin. The rings—don't trifle with me—I must think

That the religions which I named can be
Distinguished, e'en to raiment, drink and food.

Nathan. And only not as to their grounds of proof.

Are not all built alike in history,
Traditional or written? History
Must be received on trust—is it not so?
In whom now are we likeliest to put trust?
In our own people surely, in those men
Whose blood we are, in them who from our childhood
Have given us proofs of love, who ne'er deceived us,
Unless 'twere wholesomer to be deceived.
How can I less believe in my forefathers
Than those in thine? How can I ask of thee
To own that thy forefathers falsified,
In order to yield mine the praise of truth?
The like of Christians.

Now let us to our rings return once more.
As said, the sons complained each to the judge;
Swore from his father's hand immediately
To have received the ring, as was the case;
After he had long obtained the father's promise
One day to have the ring, as also was.
The father, each asserted, could to him
Not have been false. Rather than so suspect
Of such a father, willing as he might be
With charity to judge his brethren, he
Of treacherous forgery was bold to accuse them.

The judge said: "If ye remember not the father
 Before my seat, I cannot give a sentence.
 Am I to press inquiries, or expect ye
 That the true ring should here unseal its lips?
 But hold! You tell me that the real ring
 Brings the hidden power to make the wearer
 Of God and man beloved: let that decide.
 Which of you do two brothers love the best?
 You're silent. Do these love-exciting rings
 Act inward only, not without? Does each
 Love but himself? Ye're all deceived deceivers—
 None of your rings is true. The real ring,
 Perhaps, is gone. To hide or to supply
 Its loss your father ordered three for one.

"And," the judge continued,
 "If you will take advice in lieu of sentence,
 This is my counsel to you—to take up
 The matter where it stands. If each of you
 Has had a ring presented by his father,
 Let each believe his own the real ring.
 'Tis possible the father chose no longer
 To tolerate the one ring's tyranny;
 And certainly, as he much loved you all,
 And loved you all alike, it could not please him,
 By favoring one, to be of two the oppressor.
 Let each feel honored by this free affection
 Unwarped of prejudice; let each endeavor
 To vie with both his brothers in displaying
 The virtue of his ring; assist its might
 With gentleness, benevolence, forbearance,
 With inward resignation to the godhead;
 And if the virtues of the ring continue
 To show themselves among your children's children,
 After a thousand thousand years, appear
 Before this judgment seat: a greater One
 Than I shall sit upon it, and decide."
 So spake the modest judge.

This Nathan the Wise, so it is delivered, was drawn from a living model, Lessing's pupil, friend and fellow worker, the great Moses Mendelssohn, whose remarkable career is interlinked with his.

A poor, feeble Jewish lad, taught in a hybrid jargon of

bad Hebrew and worse German the rudiments of learning in the absurd manner of the rabbis, seemed, humanly speaking, to have but a poor chance of preferment or distinction in a world where each of these circumstances in particular, and all of them together, were held in profoundest contempt. And yet this sentence contains the first thirteen years of Mendelssohn's eventful life. The curvature of the spine, which marked his person, was the standing monument of the insatiable thirst for knowledge with which he undertook to study Maimonides (*More Nebuchim*, guide of the erring). That book taught him to think. He set out on foot to Berlin, and there studied Euclid in Hebrew, and applied himself to the ancient and modern languages; he struggled with heroic courage and indomitable perseverance against and through the fearful odds, and after the lapse of years became in turn tutor, foreman and partner of a rich silk manufacturer. With this improvement in his outward circumstances came likewise the acquaintance with the leading thinkers of the Prussian capital, an acquaintance which in the case of Lessing ripened into undying friendship. To him, above all others, Mendelssohn is greatly indebted for direction in general culture, literary skill, critical acumen, clearness of thought, and last, not least, fascination of style. What Lessing thought of him as a man, a philosopher and a friend is embodied in the portraiture of Nathan, one of the last and probably greatest of his works, and what Mendelssohn thought of Lessing may be seen in that noble tribute to his memory, *Moses Mendelssohn to the Friends of Lessing*, in which he, an Israelite, vindicated the deceased from the charge of Spinozism, with which Christian writers had assailed him. His philosophical writing made an epoch, and spread his fame throughout the civilized world. It may suffice here to say that among the competitors for the prize essay of the Berlin University, *On the Evidence of the Metaphysical Sciences*, which he won, was Immanuel Kant; but his *Phædo*, or *Of the Immortality of the Soul*, not only ranks highest among his works, but is confessedly the most

finished adaptation of Plato, as it is one of the most powerful arguments for the corner-stone of the Christian faith found in any literature, and all the more valuable because he never made a Christian profession; his translation of the Pentateuch and the Psalms is by far the most finished and correct in the German language. Ramler's epitaph is a model of truthfulness and brevity: "True to the religion of his forefathers, wise as Socrates, teaching immortality, and becoming immortal like Socrates."

Apart from the lofty purity of his thought, which received and ennobled truth no matter where it came from, he is probably the most lucid metaphysical writer extant; and he is as convincing as he is lucid. The perusal of his works will banish all the prejudice against German philosophy, which the knotty terminology and interminable periods of later writers have unfortunately engendered. He was an eclectic, and his manner, *e.g.*, in *Phædo*, is that of Socrates, to suggest, draw out, stimulate and develop thought. This may be illustrated by a brief extract.

Socrates. Life and death, my dear Cebes, are opposite states, are they not?

Cebes. To be sure.

Socrates. And struggle is the transition from life to death?

Cebes. To be sure.

Socrates. This great change, we may suppose, affects alike the soul and the body, for these two beings (*Wesen*) were intimately united in this life.

Cebes. According to all appearances.

Socrates. Observation may teach us the changes which follow that great event; for extension* remains present to our senses; but how, when and where the soul will exist after this life reason alone can determine, for by means of death the soul has lost the function of being present to our senses.

Cebes. True.

Socrates. Had we not better trace first the visible through all its changes, and then, if possible, compare the visible and the invisible?

* The essence of matter; so the Cartesians: "*Sola igitur extensio corporis naturam constituit, quum illa omni solum semperque conveniat adeo ut nihil in corpore prius percipere possumus.*" Le Grand, *Inst. Phil.* iv. 152.

Cebes. This seems to be the best way to pursue.

Socrates. There are constantly going on, Cebes, in every animate body separations and combinations, both aiming in part at the preservation and in part at the destruction of the animal frame; death and life, as it were, begin their struggle with the birth of the animal.

Cebes. Daily experience teaches that.

Socrates. What do we call the state in which the changes that take place in the living frame tend more to the well-being than to the destruction of the body? Do we not call it health?

Cebes. Of course.

Socrates. On the other hand, the animal changes which cause the dissolution of the great frame, are increased by sickness, or old age, which may be called the most natural sickness.

Cebes. True.

Socrates. Decay progresses through imperceptible gradations. At last the edifice crumbles into ruin, and dissolves into minute particles. But what does ensue? Do these particles cease to be changed? Do they cease to act and to suffer? Do they wholly perish?

Cebes. It does not seem so.

Socrates. It is impossible, if that be true concerning which we are agreed; for is there a midway (*Mittel*) between To be and Not to be?

Cebes. Not by any means.

Socrates. To be and not to be are consequently two states in immediate sequence, the one nearest the other; but we have seen that nature cannot produce changes that must occur abruptly and without transition. You remember that proposition?

Every natural change involves: 1. The state of the changeable thing that is to terminate; 2. The state that is to take its place; and, 3. The middle state, or the transition, so that the change occur gradually, not abruptly.)

Cebes. Very well.

Socrates. Nature, therefore, can neither produce existence nor annihilation.

Cebes. Right.

Socrates. Then it follows that nothing perishes with the dissolution of the animal body. The sundered particles continue to exist, to act, to suffer, to be combined or separated, until through infinite transitions they change into parts of another composite. Some become dust, some moisture; this rises into the air, that passes into a plant, migrates from the plant into a living animal, and leads the animal to nourish a worm. Is this not agreeable to experience?"

We are loth to stop here, but the extract, most probably new as to intellectual form to many readers, and in this version to all, needs no apology.

Wieland, whose writings are as voluminous—53 vols.—as they are different in tone, tendency, and literary execution, will always be remembered with respect, although many of his works will be even more neglected than they are now. Taste is progressive, as well as criticism, and the critic who in 1833 bestowed much praise on the semi-dramatic *Araspes and Panthea*, based on the episode in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, would probably pronounce it dreary and tedious in the year of grace 1882. The high-wrought eulogy of Menzel, who rides the hobby of seeing in every writer of the last century an emancipator and apostle of deliverance from Gallomania, Anglomania, or Græcomania, must be taken with a good many grains of allowance; he considers him *par excellence* the graceful writer of the period, and this is just the quality in which he strikes us remarkably deficient. Under the influence of an attachment which necessity made platonic and the study of Plato, he produced his *Sympathies; Recollections of a Friend* (of the feminine gender); *The Vision of Mirzah*; *The Vision of a World of Innocent Beings*; *Hymns of the Omnipresence and Justice of God* (in prose); and *Sentiments of a Christian* (a series of meditations). It would lead us altogether too far to discuss details; but in these productions we often see him take the step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and it is not hypercriticism to say that many of his religious effusions are, asking pardon for the use of the term, "gush." But "gush" and fanatical sentimentalism did not last long, for presently he wrote for the stage. Next he appears as a humorist and satirist, but he wrote at the same time *Agathon*, a novel, chiefly interesting because it contains an account of his spiritual life at Weimar, whither he went in 1772 as the tutor of the young princes, when he appeared as an erotic writer. His romantic epic poem *Oberon*, which, full of poetic fire, is replete with coarse licentiousness; it is worse than *Don Juan* in this respect. Either preceding it, or contemporary with it, he published his *Abderites*, an exceedingly amusing book,

which may be profitably read by the citizens of many communities, large and small; and quite a series of works designed to establish the supremacy of the philosophy of common-sense. The last period of his literary career is filled with classical studies: he translated Horace and Lucian, while his *Dialogues in Elysium*, *Dialogues of the Gods*, *Dialogues Under Four Eyes*, and *Perigrinus Proteus* are echoes of those pursuits. Wieland was uncommonly well read, and his many social advantages gave him much polish. His imagination was vivid and bold, his imitative and constructive powers uncommonly great. As an instance may be mentioned the well-known fable of Amor and Psyche, narrated by Apuleius (*Met.*, iv. 28), which is generally thought to embody the story of the human soul passing through the fires of passion and misfortune to true and pure happiness. This allegory furnished Wieland the matter for *Idris*, *The New Amadis*, *The Graces*, and *Aspasia*. *Idris*, an unfinished romantic poem of five cantos, portrays the struggle of platonic and sensual love. *Musarion*, or the Philosophy of the Graces, seeks to justify love against stoic apathy, and belongs to the best of his works. The *Graces* develop the thought "love ennobled," and *The New Amadis* sustains the proposition that it is proper for a handsome and well-educated man to marry a plain woman, if her qualities of heart and mind compensate for her want of personal attractions. While it is true that Wieland cannot be numbered among the great poets, or among the profound thinkers, or even among the best translators, he rendered to German literature the great service of refining and elevating the public taste, and of popularizing the philosophy of common life. This is especially true of his purely æsthetical and social writings; he is very suggestive, instructive and entertaining, witty and hilarious, and ever in sympathy with the human. His manner and style suggest a comparison with Voltaire, plus a lofty ideal morality of which the Frenchman is destitute. That he was a great man is admitted. In addition to all his other works, he conducted the

Deutsche Merkur from 1775 to 1783 alone, and afterwards, until 1803, with Böttiger. Herder, Göthe, Schiller, and many of the literary *dei minores* were his intimates and helpers. As a man, he was free from moral blemish, amiable, upright, sympathetic, hospitable; his conversational powers were sparkling, and he was the most affectionate of men in every private relation of life. The few years he spent at *Osmantium*, a pet name for his country place at Osmanstedt, were a brief realization of his ideal of family life; and there, a veritable patriarch, he shone in all the charms of his affectionate and winning nature. He died at Weimar, almost eighty years of age, January 20, 1813.

Immanuel Kant, on the paternal side of Scotch descent, was born at Königsberg, April 22, 1724, and among men of letters, even among the intellectual giants of the last century, the first thinker, and among metaphysicians one of the few whose works will live for all time. As he hardly ever left Königsberg, his name and that of his native city are almost synonymous. Of his personal life, as far as adventure, variety, and changed relations are concerned, there is but little to record beyond what has already been stated—that he lived at Königsberg, remained a bachelor, was kind, affectionate, courteous, and true; studied, thought, and taught all his days; and died February 12, 1804. With the exception of the illustrious names of Coleridge, Sir William Hamilton, and Carlyle, Kant, until quite recently, has had very little influence on the formation of philosophical or ethical thought in English literature; but Professor Caird's *Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant*, and Professor Watson's *Kant and his English Critics* (just out),* will doubtless cause him to be read and appreciated by a vastly increased constituency; and it would not be at all surprising to see in the centennial anniversary of the appearance of the *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* a partial fulfillment of the prophecy of Rosenkranz, the German commentator of Kant, that the study and mastery of that work will revolutionize

* In 1881.

the traditional Scotch philosophy, and, we may add, the rather prevalent and antagonistic empirical systems.

The writings of Kant are very voluminous; the most celebrated of all, that just named—the *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* (Criticism of Pure Reason); neither their enumeration nor their description will be attempted in this paper, but the *Kritik* may be compared to a Gothic cathedral,—e.g., that at Cologne,—the contemplation of which prompts the thought that the sublime magnificence and vast splendor of the conception of the structure must have originated in the brain of an intellectual giant, while the patient execution of the whole, down to its minutest detail of finial or gargoyle, must have been the work of laborious dwarfs. That book, moreover, is the dominant landmark in the history of German philosophy, for without it Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and so many others could never have constructed their systems.

The reader must not think me tantalizing when I refer him to the work itself for further information; it is not a book for extracts.

The statement of Carlyle, in answer to the charge of obscurity of thought and hardness of expression brought against Kant, that he found his writings characterized by no quality so much as precisely by the distinctness of his conception, and the sequence and iron strictness with which he reasons, conveys a wrong impression. Whoever has not mastered Kant's terminology cannot read him with pleasure or profit; and it requires a metaphysical and mathematical mind to penetrate that arcanum; but he who does succeed is sure of his reward, both in the end and the pursuit of it. As an intellectual discipline the *study* of the Critique may be commended to all thinkers. As to the practical uses of its philosophy, we may add, that it not only recognizes religion, but identifies it with morality, and that it ennobles æsthetics and jurisprudence—that it clothes, in fine, the whole of human life in all its articulations with a God-derived vesture. The term *transcendent*, in the Kantian

system, denotes what is wholly beyond experience, beyond every category of thought; while *transcendental* is applied to signify *necessary* cognitions, which, though manifested in (as affording the conditions of) experience, transcend the sphere of that contingent or adventitious knowledge which we acquire by experience (Sir W. Hamilton, *Reid*, note A, section 5). Transcendental knowledge is *à priori*, and the ground of empirical knowledge, which is *à posteriori*. The following extract from Coleridge (*Biograph. Liter.*, p. 143), with which we close this notice, will be found useful: "There is a *philosophic* (and inasmuch as it is actualized by an effort of freedom, an *artificial*) consciousness which lies beneath, or, as it were, *behind* the spontaneous consciousness, natural to all reflecting beings. As the elder Romans distinguished their northern provinces into Cis-Alpine and Trans-Alpine, so may we divide all the objects of human knowledge with those on this side and those on the other side of the spontaneous consciousness—*citra et trans conscientiam communem*. The latter is exclusively the domain of *pure* philosophy, which is therefore properly entitled *transcendental*, in order to discriminate it at once both from mere reflection and representation on the one hand, and on the other from those flights of lawless speculation which, abandoned by all distinct consciousness, because transgressing the bounds and purposes of our intellectual faculties, are justly condemned as *transcendent*."

The distinguished pupil of Kant, Johann Gotfried von Herder, born at Morungen, in East Prussia, in 1744, was an indefatigable student and prolific writer. The range of his studies was very wide in theology, philosophy, philology, the natural sciences, ethnology, and politics. He was educated for the church, and excelled in pulpit oratory. His power in that respect must have been extraordinary. Gleim, *e.g.*, exclaims: "I heard him preach, and when he descended from the pulpit I kissed him, the great man, saying, 'Herder, you are an Apostle.' And really he preached as simply as the Apostles no doubt did, being themselves no

scholars. This seems incredible when one calls to mind some of his books; yet it is so. What a wide range, what depth, what beauty, what genius, in spite of all this simplicity!" Göthe, Schiller, Richter, and everybody at Weimar were in ecstasy about his preaching. He was decidedly Broad Church, and the narrow-laced theologians of the day gave him enough in the way of the *odium theologicum*. Gervinus says that he "held fast upon Christ, his life and his teachings, though his interpretation of the Gospel was rather rational than material, rather spiritual than literal. His aim was not to enforce special beliefs. He regarded the miracles as indispensable symbols, not as the essential element in faith. He hoped for the time when Christians would be ashamed to divide into sects, and join hands over a simple unencumbered belief in Christ." But it is not so much as a preacher, but as a great writer, foremost among the men of his age, that we have to consider him here. The dominant principle with him was what he called the law of evolution and progress, which made him view mankind in general and individuals in particular as the matter, and governments, institutes, and careers of life as the form or expression of that law. His *Ideas Towards the Philosophy of the History of Man* exhibit his opinions on the broadest scale, and embrace all his views and all his tendencies according to a regular order (Menzel, *Germ. Lit.*, ii., pp. 423-428). As a specimen of his manner I produce a brief extract from his *Ideas*: "That part of the earth through which we have passed impresses us with the fact that the work of man is transitory to the last degree, and that the best institutions degenerate after a few generations into absolute oppression. A plant blooms and fades; your fathers died and decay; your temple crumbles into ruin; your oracles and tables of the law have ceased to be; even language, that eternal bond of the race, grows obsolete. What, and should a human constitution, institutes of law or religion, erected on that groundwork—should they be of perpetual duration? Thus the pinions of time were

tied with chains, and our revolving sphere was turned into an inert ice-mass over the abyss. How would it be were we to see King Solomon offer his holocaust of 22,000 bullocks and 120,000 sheep, or the Queen of Sheba, who came to prove him with hard questions? What would we think of all the wisdom of the Egyptians if we were to see the bull Apis, the sacred cat, and the sacred ram in the most splendid temple? The same applies to the oppressive usages of the Brahmins, the superstition of the Parsees, the empty pretensions of the Jews, the absurd pride of the Chinese, and whatever else may claim to be founded on human institutions hoary with the age of three thousand years. The doctrine of Zoroaster may have been a laudable attempt to explain evil, and to encourage his followers to practice the works of light; but what do even Mahometans of the present period think of that theodicy? The metempsychosis of the Brahmins may pass as a youthful dream of human imagination, designed to make visible provision for immortal souls, and to connect moral conceptions with that well-meant delusion; but what has it become as an irrational sacred law, with its countless appendages of statutes and usages? Tradition, as such, is an excellent natural provision, salutary to our race; but as soon as it fetters thought in practical politics and education, or arrests the progress of reason, culture, and improvement, it becomes the veritable opium of mind, both in states, sects, and individuals. Asia, the mother of the enlightenment of the habitable globe, has tasted much of that sweet poison, and gives it to others. Great empires and mighty sects sleep in Asia, as it is fabled that S. John sleeps in his grave; he breathes gently, but he has been dead well-nigh two thousand years, and, sleeping, awaits the advent of his awakener."

The influence of Herder as a writer was prodigious; his presence was magnetic, and Göthe, who held him in the very highest esteem, says in his autobiography that his very handwriting exerted a magical influence over him. It is of course impossible to characterize in a paper like this the

sixty volumes of his works. His most important theological work is *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*; the last of his works is the translation of the Spanish romance of *El Cid*, in seventy parts, which Spanish writers pronounced a marvel in felicitous reproduction of the spirit of the original. Though not a poet in the true acceptance of the word, as he did not originate or create, his soul was truly poetic, and what he wrote was intensely melodious. As poetry was to him the true language of the heart, so he held music to be its most effective expression, recreating and consoling; and this is felt by all who read him. Göthe says of him, "His nature was gentle and tender, but his aspirations were on too grand a scale, too colossal; and he was wont to act with a certain amount of haste and impatience. He was not in good health, and that made him capricious, and he carried his *atra cura* wherever he went; his conjugal relations were singularly happy. He died at Weimar, December 18, 1803, and his friend and patron, Carl August, inscribed the slab over his tomb in the town church at Weimar with these three words as an epitaph: "Light, Love, Life."

Among the friends and admirers of Herder we must name here Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, born at Wunsiedel, March 21, 1763. The Germans call him *der Einzige*, the only one, and justly so, for he stands alone in the literature of his country. He writes of his birth, "That I, the professor, and spring came into the world together, I have indeed brought out a hundred times in conversation before now; but I fire it off here purposely, like a cannon salute, for the hundred and first time, that so by printing I may ever henceforth be unable to offer it again as *bon-mot-bonbon*, when through the printer's devil it has already been presented to all the world." He also thought that destiny had something to do with his family name of Richter—signifying judge—for as a judge in letters, and what not, he certainly acted. To pronounce Richter a paradox, an enigma, incomprehensible, eccentric, contradictory, a poet who wrote no poetry, a philosopher who set forth no system, a historian

who wrote no history, is only repeating what everybody knows and admits. And yet he was all this, and vastly more; and we may say of him what he said of Herder, "If Herder was not a poet, he was something more—a poem." Yes, Richter was a poem and a genius, and a good man too; "a kind husband and father, and goodness itself towards his friends and all that were near him." As a writer, a thinker, a moralist, a satirist, a poet, Carlyle pronounces him "a phenomenon, a vastly many-sided, tumultuous, yet noble nature, for faults as for merits, *Jean Paul the Unique*." To describe his writings to an English reader is next to impossible, and to transcribe them in English guise, though the translator should be Carlyle (who, by the bye, is at once his best interpreter and in more senses than one his representative), is likewise an impossibility. Richter must be read in German, and the reader must be a good German scholar, of considerable general culture. His works have been called "a tropical wilderness, full of endless tortuosities, but with the fairest flowers and the coolest fountains; now overarching us with high umbrageous gloom, now opening in long gorgeous vistas. We wander through them enjoying their wild grandeur, and by degrees our half-contemptuous wonder at the author passes into reverence and love. . . . His movement is essentially slow and cumbrous, for he advances not with one faculty, but with a whole mind; with intellect and pathos, and wit and humor, and imagination, moving onward like a mighty host, mostly ponderous, irregular, irresistible. He is not airy, sparkling and precise, but deep, billowy, and vast. The melody of his nature is not expressed in common note-marks, or written down by the critical gamut; for it is wild and manifold, its voice is like the voice of cataracts and the sounding of primeval forests. To feeble ears it is discord, but to ears that understand it, deep majestic music" (*German Romance*, iii., 6, 18). To all of which we say Amen; adding this much, that he likewise stands alone among writers for the intense reality of his religious convictions on the great central

truths of belief in God and the immortality of the soul, which underlie and interline all he wrote. Some of his conceptions in this respect fill one with awe, and hold one spell-bound by their sublime force and overwhelming earnestness. His complete works number sixty-five volumes; his chief productions are novels: *Die Unsichtbare Loge* (Invisible Lodge); *Flegel Jahre* (Wild Oats); *Life of Fiedlein*, etc.; *Hesperus* and *Titan*; the last his masterpiece, but utterly inadequate in the English translation (by Brooks, Boston, 1862). The *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Introduction to *Æsthetics*) is a philosophical work; *Levana* treats of education; and the *Iselina*, a discourse on the immortality of the soul, is the last of his writings. The unfinished manuscript was borne upon his coffin to the burial-vault, where Klopstock's hymn, *Auferstehen Wirst Du* (Thou Shalt Arise, My Soul), was sung with singular appropriateness. He died in 1825. A few random passages, the first in Carlyle's translation, may conclude this superficial notice, *e.g.*, this from the Preface of *Hesperus*, a sort of prophetic utterance: "There will come another era, when it shall be light, and man will awaken from his lofty dreams, and find—his dreams still there, and that nothing is gone save his sleep."

The stones and the rocks which two veiled figures,—Necessity and Vice,—like Deucalion and Pyrrha, are casting behind them at Goodness, will themselves become men. "And on the western gate (*Abend Thor*, Evening Gate) of this century stands written: 'Here is the way to virtue and wisdom.' As on the western gate of Cherson stands the proud inscription, 'Here is the way to Byzance.' 'Infinite Providence, thou wilt cause the day to dawn. But as yet struggles the twelfth hour of the night; the nocturnal birds of prey are on the wing, spectres uproar, the dead walk, the living dream.'"

Blossoms and Foliage: a Paramyth.

"When the blossoms, pale in tint and small in size, fell in May, the foliage exclaimed, 'Oh! the useless weaklings,

hardly born, they fall away ; but we have a stronger hold : we survive the summer's heat, we grow larger, more glossy, until after long months of meritorious work, after nursing and giving to the earth the fairest fruit, we retire decorated with motley orders amid the cannon-thunder of the storm.' But the fallen blossoms said, ' We were content to fall, for we fell after we had given birth to the fruit.'

" Ye silent ones that work unknown to fame in studies and disappear, ye that toil without appreciation in school rooms, ye noble benefactors without a name in history, and ye work-worn mothers, despair not before those who glitter in lofty palaces in the state, on mountains of gold, on triumphal arches of plowed-up battle-fields despair not ; *you* are the blossoms."

Searching for another appropriate extract, my eye met the following passage from Caroline Herder's letter to Gleim, which is a life-portrait, and therefore invaluable : " Just think : Jean Paul Friedrich Richter has been with us this last fortnight. The best of men, able, full of thought, wit and invention ; with a kind disposition, living wholly in that pure world of which his books are a transcript. Gentle as a child and ever cheerful ; he is a true disciple of wisdom. . . . He has a mother, a younger brother eighteen years old, and his friend Otto ; and these three he loves beyond everything. He is a never-failing spring, and we love him dearly ; when he speaks of the subject of a book he is writing, his eyes sparkle. He has a celestial, moral mission, and he is so rich that he knows when to stop." That is Jean Paul through and through. And now for a final extract, the " Card to his Friends in Place of a Preface."—*Quintus Fixlein*.

" I was never able to spy out more than three ways to grow happier—not happy. The first upward, so vastly beyond the clouds of life that the outer world with its wolf-dens, charnel-houses and lightning-conductors look like a wee little play-garden of children ; the second, to fall right into it and to make one's nest in a furrow like a lark, so that looking up from that lark-nest the wolf-dens, charnel-

houses and poles are likewise invisible, and nothing but ears are seen, every one of which is to the nestling a tree, a parasol and an umbrella; the third and last, which I consider the best, the wisest and most difficult, is to change about with both." That last, humor, lying midway between the extremes in art and poetry, is the star which glitters over all his productions, and it explains and reconciles what otherwise seems inexplicable and irreconcilable.

The life and soul of Weimar, the great central attraction among the many illustrious men that lived there, was Göthe. He is so well known, not only in the world of letters but to all people of culture, that the necessity of placing before the reader the familiar details of his personal character, or of discussing the pre-excellent merits of his literary productions, can hardly exist, but for the fact that an account of the solar system without mentioning the sun would be an unpardonable omission. And that must be our apology for the comparative briefness of this notice. I have before me a vast and contradictory estimate of his character, his own autobiography, *Truth and Fiction*, and a number of lives, letters, conversations, etc., all bearing more or less directly on the subject in hand. The word *Dichtung* signifies not only a poetic production but also one that is fictitious, and the autobiography is both; it invests truth with a poetic garb, and the poetic element occasionally, we may say frequently, is fictitious, and on that account requires to be read and used with caution; indeed Göthe himself suggests as much in a letter to Zelter (711, Feb. 15, 1830). Gödeke, one of the biographers, and editor of Cotta's accurate edition of 1872, unquestionably one of the most competent critics in the matter, takes care to warn the reader that wherever there are doubts about the correctness of an event, a date, a person, and especially about circumstances relating to himself, narrated in the autobiography, the benefit of the doubt does not belong to the autobiographer, who sometimes intentionally, and often unintentionally, confounds truth, poetry and fiction. This hint may suffice to characterize all

estimates of Göthe drawn in the main from the autobiography, and they are not by any means few. Those drawn from his contemporaries, friendly or hostile, should also be sifted; E. G. Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Göthe* have about the same merit as the Bismarckiana recorded by Busch, or the Johnsoniana duly chronicled by Boswell. The literature on this subject is absolutely prodigious, and the material now accessible to scholars vastly greater and better than, for instance, that available to Carlyle when he wrote his essay. Grimm's *Vorlesungen*, Viehof's *Leben*, Gödeke's *Leben*, and the works of Hettner, Julian Schmidt, Gervinus, Menzel and Gottschall are all admirable in their way, and the student of Göthe will find them exceedingly valuable. Some leading traits of character are so unmistakably stamped on all that Göthe did and wrote that unpublished papers, roused from their long sleep, no matter what they may contain, can never efface. The grand trait is egotism, and Menzel is, on the whole, right; an egotist cannot be sympathetic, and that explains Göthe's coldness in his private relations and also in the tendency of his writings; it explains, moreover, the fact that the place he holds in the estimate of posterity—especially the posterity of the Fatherland—is rather in the mind than in the heart. The Germans love Schiller; they admire Göthe, whose intellect was colossal but whose heart was *nil*. His morals, especially in his relations to the other sex, were bad, of which one glaring instance, *instar omnium*, may here be given.

In the year 1788 he fell in love with, and then lived with Christiane Vulpius until July 1806, when, to satisfy conscientious scruples, he married her. During that long period he was not without *liaisons*, nor was he without them afterwards. He treated his wife with revolting indifference, and contemptuously called her an *armes Geschöpf*—poor creature—to all his acquaintance. Frau von Stein, a married lady, between whom and Göthe there had been, according to the biographers, a Platonic or soul-affinity relation, felt so hurt by his marriage that she broke with him absolutely,

and yet on the death of this self-same "poor creature," which occurred in 1816, he wrote in his journal: "Thou triest, O sun, in vain to shine through the dark clouds; the whole gain of my life is to mourn her loss." There is also a beautiful tribute to her memory in the *Roman Elegies*, but it would have been better for Göthe if the "poor creature" had received less of post-mortal effusions of grateful remembrance and more of what a wife is entitled to receive in life—love and respect.

As a man, in everything that endears man to man, Göthe cannot be cited as a pattern; but as a thinker, a writer, a poet, he occupies, and is destined to hold, a pre-eminent position in the literature of the world. The Germans justly call him many-sided, for there is hardly a field of thought, in science or literature, where he has not been an explorer, a student and a producer. The works by which he is best known are *Faust*, a creation equal in German literature to the place of *Hamlet* in English; *Wilhelm Meister*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, and his poems.

As a beautiful specimen of an almost literal translation, replete with the spirit and manner of the original, is given Longfellow's reproduction of the *Wanderer's Night Songs*:

I.

Thou that from the heavens art,
Every pain and sorrow stillest,
And the doubly wretched heart
Doubly with refreshment fillest,
I am weary with contending!
Why this rapture and unrest?
Peace descending,
Come, ah come into my breast!

II.

O'er all the hill-tops
Is quiet now;
In all the tree-tops
Hearest thou

Hardly a breath.
The birds are asleep on the trees,
Wait; soon like these
Thou too shalt rest.

It is impossible in these narrow limits to attempt anything in the way of personal, intellectual or literary portraiture that would be entitled to respect, so I conclude with a bit of characterization, in the characteristic words of Heine: "In truth, that accordance of personal appearance with genius, which we desire to see in distinguished men, was found to perfection in Göthe; his outward appearance was just as imposing as the word that lives in his writings. Even his form was symmetrical, expressive of joy, nobly proportioned, and one might study the Grecian art upon it as well as upon an antique. . . . His eyes were calm as those of a god. It is the peculiar characteristic of the gods that their gaze is ever steady, and their eyes roll not to and fro in uncertainty; therefore, when Agni, Varuna, Yama, and Indra assume the form of Nala at the marriage of Damyantis, she discovered her beloved by the twinkle of his eye; for, as I have said, the eyes of the gods are ever motionless. The eyes of Napoleon had this peculiarity; therefore I am persuaded he was a god. The eyes of Göthe remained in his latest age just as divine as in his youth. Time, indeed, had covered his head with snow, but could never bow it. To the last he bore it proud and lofty, and when he spoke he became still more majestic, and when he stretched forth his hand it was as if his finger were to prescribe to the stars their courses in the heavens. Around his mouth some profess to have seen a trait of egotism, but even this is peculiar to the immortal gods, and especially to the father of the gods, the mighty Jupiter, to whom Göthe has already been compared. Verily, when I visited him in Weimar and stood in his presence, I involuntarily turned my eyes one side to see if the eagle with the thunderbolt in his beak were not attendant upon him. I was just on the point of addressing him in Greek, but after I perceived that

he spoke German, I told him in that language 'that the plums upon the road between Jena and Weimar had an excellent relish.' Many a long winter night had I thought with myself how much that was lofty and profound I should say to Göthe if ever I should see him; and when at last I saw him, I told him that the Saxon plums were excellent. And Göthe smiled. He smiled with those very lips with which he once had kissed the beauteous Leda, Europa, Danae, Semele, and so many other princesses or common nymphs."

Schiller, of whom we are now about to speak, is unquestionably the most popular writer Germany ever produced, and his popularity resembles that of Washington, in that he stands first in the hearts of his countrymen; they love Schiller and admire Göthe, and justly so, for Schiller is ever attractive, full of warm sympathies, tender, kind, communicative, whereas Göthe is repellent, cold and reserved. Schiller soared to ideal heights and would transform the world to his ideal of truth and beauty, while Göthe was essentially realistic and dealt with the world and with life, as a poet, turned all into poem or drama. Rivalry between two men of such exalted genius is entirely out of the question, for the two were fast and true friends, and their friendship is among the most beautiful and touching memories connected with their lives. Whatever of literary antagonism between them existed at an earlier period, before they had met, vanished in after years, and their intercourse was most genial, affectionate, fraternal, and it came to pass, in course of time, that among the thousands that flattered and professed to idolize Göthe there was not one, with the solitary exception of Schiller, who was his *friend*. When Schiller died he stood alone. Then as to the question, Which is the greater poet? That likewise should be ruled out, for dissimilars cannot be graded. Niagara is sublime, Mont Blanc is sublime; the sublime overcame me in presence of both, but I could not say in truth the one is sublimer than the other. That is the proper reply to the question of superiority. It is curious to note how great men sometimes err

in judgment. Carlyle says in his essay on Schiller that Göthe is the national poet, and that Schiller is not and never could have been. Now what is a national poet? It is one whose utterance seems like the voice of the people, so that every member of the nation, when he hears it, exclaims, That is my thought, my feeling; thus I have thought and felt a thousand times, and now I hear and read in words the very transcript of my heart and mind. If this be a true criterion, then Schiller *is* a national poet; he is moreover a German of the Germans in a higher and deeper sense than Göthe ever was, and the popular verdict is in favor of Schiller. Carlyle considers Göthe a greater poet than Schiller; but retaining the reference to dissimilars, I prefer to agree with Menzel that "Schiller's poetry is a strong and fiery wine, all his words are flames of the noblest sentiment. . . . But before all other poets—*of Germany*—Schiller maintains the prerogative of the purest and at the same time the strongest passion. No one of so pure a heart ever sustained this fire; no one of such fire ever possessed this purity." If asked why I prefer Schiller to Göthe as a poet, I answer, *because he was a better man*. His appeals are to the purest and noblest feelings, and his teaching is ennobling and purifying, because it is virtuous. He is a poet of virtue and liberty, and truth; he never grew old; the impassioned ardor of youth never left him, and that perhaps is the secret of his charm. I deem it alike an honor to Schiller and to Germany that he moved on so lofty a plane of moral elevation, and he will live first in the hearts of Germans as long as the noble ends for which he toiled and strove, truth, virtue and liberty, are enshrined in the German heart. The first of his works, *The Robbers*, which originated in the *Sturm und Drang Periods*, he pronounced in later years "a monster produced by the unnatural union of genius with thralldom;" though immature, daring and tumultuous, and acknowledged vastly inferior to his other works, such is the popularity of Schiller in Germany that to this day *The Robbers* are sure to draw a full house,

but the notes of freedom it rings forth make it a dangerous piece to princes, and they hate it like the Marseillaise. *Fiesco* and *Cabal and Love* followed next. *Don Carlos* is the first of his dramas in verse, and made a profound impression. There is a curious anecdote about this masterpiece: When he read to his admirer and friend Charlotte von Kalb, in the peculiar Suabian dialect, whose sing-song modulation, sibilants and sincopation are enough to kill anything in the hearing of any but Suabians, she said nothing for a long while, but finally, unable to restrain herself, she exclaimed, "That is the poorest thing you ever wrote." Schiller was fairly beside himself with angry indignation, flung the manuscript on the table and exclaimed, "That is too bad!" and went out. His declamation in the Suabian dialect had wrought the same mischief here as when he read *Fiesco* to the actors. It is hardly necessary to add that the perusal of the manuscript corrected Charlotte's opinion. The historical works he wrote were the *Revolt of the Netherlands* and *The Thirty Years' War*. The publication called *Die Horen* (*Horae*, the hours) brought him in close contact with Göthe, and led to the friendship which only death could break. That serial, as well as the *Musen Almanach*, brought some of the best of Schiller's and Göthe's poetic effusions. His other great dramas are *Wallenstein*, *Mary Stuart*, *The Maid of Orleans*, *The Bride of Messina*, and *William Tell*. The unfinished drama *Demetrius* was the last of his works, the completion of which, so ardently desired by him, was prevented by his untimely death, May 9, 1805, at the early age of forty-six.

Schiller never ceased to be a student and an indefatigable worker. His philosophy was based on the Kantian system, and his æsthetic letters are a marvel of clear, strong reasoning. These letters, as well as his correspondence with Göthe, lay bare the hidden springs of his nature, and abundantly prove that the bent of his mind was naturally fully as much philosophical as poetical.

It were idle to undertake here a critical review of his works, but there is so much beauty and truth in the following passages from Menzel that they may serve the purpose of a summary: "Raphael's name has forced itself involuntarily upon me, and it is undeniable that the spirit of moral beauty hovers over Schiller's poetical creations, as the spirit of visible beauty hovers over Raphael's pictures. The moral element appears in the changes and the life of history; and action, struggle is the sphere in which it moves; visible beauty, like all nature together, is confined to quiet existence. Thus Schiller's ideals must show themselves in conflict, those of Raphael in gentle and sublime repose. Schiller's genius could not shun the office of the warlike angel Michael; Raphael's genius has only the gentle angel who bears his name. That one final and inexplicable charm, however, the heavenly magic, the reflected splendor of a higher world which belongs to the faces of Raphael belongs also to the characters of Schiller. No painter has been able to represent the human face, no poet the human soul, with this loveliness and majesty of beauty. And as Raphael's genius remains the same, and as the angel of light and peace, under many names and forms, always gazes upon us from amidst repose and transfigured glory, so Schiller's genius is always alike, and we see the same militant angel in Charles Moor, Amalia, Ferdinand, Louisa, Marquis Posa, Max Piccolomini, Thekla, Mary Stuart, Mortimer, Joan of Orleans, and William Tell. The former genius bears the palm, the latter the sword. The former rests in the consciousness of a peace never to be disturbed, absorbed in his own splendor; the other turns his lovely and angelic countenance, menacing and sad, towards the monsters of the deep. Schiller's heroes are distinguished by a nobleness of nature which produces at once the effect of pure and perfect beauty, like the nobleness expressed by the pictures of Raphael. There is about them something kingly that at once excites a holy reverence. But this beam of a higher

light falling upon the dark shadows of earthly corruption can but shine the brighter; among the specters of hell an angel becomes the lovelier.

"The first secret of this beauty is the angelic innocence which dwells eternally in the noblest natures. This nobleness of innocence recurs with the same celestial features of a pure young angel in all the great poetic creations of Schiller." This he points out in *Fridolin*, *Hero* and *Leander*, the *Diver*, the *Surety*, in *Charles Moor* and *Amalia*, *Ferdinand* and *Louisa*, and chiefly in *Max Piccolomini* and *Thekla*, adding that over these moving pictures a magic of poetry hovers which is nowhere equalled. "It is the flute-tone amidst wild and shrieking music, a blue glimpse of heaven in a storm, a paradise within the abyss of a crater."

As the second secret of the beauty belonging to Schiller's ideal characters, he names their nobleness and honorableness. "It is a very distinctive mark of Schiller's poetry that all his heroes bear that impress of genius; they have that imposing character which in real life usually accompanies the highest nobleness of human nature. All his heroes bear the stamp of Jove upon their brows. In his earliest poems we might perhaps consider this free and bold demeanor somewhat uncouth and sharp-cornered, and even the poet at elegant Weimar suffered himself to be seduced into giving his robbers a little touch of civilization. But who could not look through the rough outside into the solid and pure diamond germ of the noble nature? Whatever follies are to be found in *Charles Moor*, *Cabal and Love*, and in *Fiesco*, I can consider them under no other light than the follies of that old German *Parcival* who gave a proof, when a rough boy in child's clothes, of his noble and heroic heart, to the shame of all scorners; nay, the force of moral beauty in a noble nature can nowhere operate more touchingly and affectingly than when it is thus unconsciously laid open to one-sided derision."

The third and highest secret of the beauty of Schiller's

characters he declares to be the fire of noble passions, which has already been pointed out before.

As we have no room for extracts, the appreciation of Schiller in the words of Göthe's elegy, known as *An Epilogue to the Song of the Bell*, may not inaptly close this superficial notice :

"His noble cheek was mantling deep and deeper
With that exotic youth that ever stays,
With that courageous nerve that now or later
The stolid world's resistance prostrate lays,
With that unfalt'ring faith exalted
That now advances bold, now patient prays,
To make the good efficient, strong, availing
To usher in the perfect day unfailing.

And many spirits that with him contended,
Unwilling owned his shining merit vast,
They felt his might their inmost soul inspiring,
Were willing in his magic circle cast;
On pinions bold he soared to what is highest,
To all we value most related fast;
Oh, honor him, what life but half afforded,
That by posterity be whole accorded."

J. I. MOMBERT.



LITERARY NOTICES.

I. PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY.

Suicide. An Essay in Comparative Moral Statistics, By Henry Morselli, M.D., Professor of Psychological Medicine, Royal University, Turin. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.) is the title of Volume XXXVI in the "International Scientific Series." Science is so comprehensive, and the field so large from which Messrs. Appleton & Co. can draw material for this series, that there need be no surprise some years hence when Volume MDCCCLXXXII is announced to be in print. The number of books thrown annually upon the world is equaled only by the number of criticisms upon them; and purely scientific works, while of extreme importance to scientific men, are not always the most popular. Charles Lamb, who prides himself on a taste "so catholic, so unexcluding," includes them among his *biblia a-biblia*—books which are no books—associating them with Almanacs, Statutes at Large, Draught-Boards numbered and lettered on the back, and "those books which no gentleman's library should be without."

Scientific works, however, are a necessity; and suicide has lately loomed up into such proportions as a social phenomenon, that an elaborate essay which treats of it in the synthetic and positive direction and which comes from a man of known experience and ability is sure to be welcomed by all classes of social economists.

Dr. Morselli divides his treatise into two parts—the analytical and the synthetical. In Part I he investigates a long series of facts and reports, and gives tables of statistics showing the different influences which affect man in his tendency to suicide. In Part II he draws an inference from his facts as to what is the true nature of the suicidal tendency, and adds a few observations on the prophylactics and therapeutics of this fatal disease of civilized peoples.

It is plainly difficult for any one who is not more or less of a scientific encyclopædia to argue against tables of statistics. One might as well measure lances with a table of logarithms. To most people the strongest logic is the logic of figures; yet an argument founded on figures is oftentimes an *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, which insists on our believing simply because we know nothing to the contrary. We are not wholly convinced: we merely wait for the light of further scientific research. But however unreliable his tables may be, they certainly contain a great deal that is interesting, even to ordinary readers.

We give a few facts gained by an examination of his statistics. More suicides happen in Spring than in Autumn or Winter, and more in Summer than in Spring, the maximum falling under the Summer solstice and the minimum under the Winter. The reason of this is that suicide is influenced not so much by the intense heat of the advanced Summer season as by the early Spring and Summer, which seize upon the organism not yet acclimatized and still under the influence of the cold season.

The suicidal tendency increases in the two sexes in direct ratio with age. Most suicides occur between forty and fifty years of age, with a slight increase in the ratio at sixty-five. Suicide is much less frequent among women than men, in every country the proportion being one woman to three or four men. More widowers commit suicide than single men, and more single men than married men. The moral here is obvious. A less number of men commit suicide on Saturday, which to workmen is the day of material well-being, than on any other day. Women, however, show a marked partiality for the day of rest.

Hereditary influence plays an important part in producing suicide, and insanity is also a prolific cause. About thirty per cent of the insane are melancholics, and of the latter about thirty-five per cent take their own lives.

In the choosing of means of death each country certainly has its predilections, but in the aggregate of the peoples by whom suicide is practiced the rope seems to be chosen before every other instrument; immediately after that comes water; fire comes next; and then follow

those arms that cut and stab. The certainty of the event and the absence or shortness of suffering generally guide man in his choice. It is curious to note that women almost never seek their own destruction by means of fire-arms, and that men seldom employ poison. In France the student-suicides almost invariably choose fire-arms, while the professors are about equally divided between drowning and hanging. Despairing lovers lean more kindly to fire-arms or poison, as being more tragic and sentimental. They look upon a rope as eminently vulgar, and no doubt regard the thought of a man hanging himself in a garret until he is purple in the face as hardly a picture to cause feelings of deep remorse in the stony heart of an obdurate maiden.

In the choice of place, private buildings appear to have the preference; women especially seem to have a repugnance to committing suicide openly or in public places.

Now for Dr. Morselli's philosophy.

In the first place his arguments are founded on principles contrary to the teachings of Christianity. He assumes that inasmuch as there seems to be a regularity in the number of suicides the world over, man is therefore not a free agent but an individual of no will, no responsibility, no personality—a very molecule. Since the average number of suicides can be predicted beforehand, he falls into the sophistry of supposing that each man included in that average is individually predestined to suicide. But the same regularity is observed in other things as well. The physician discovers a strange and inexplicable periodicity in the physiological and pathological manifestations; yet are we on that account to pay no attention to our health? "Insurance," says an eminent writer, "has deduced a law from the apparent chaos so reliable that millions repose under its shelter." By using the collection of insurance statistics, experts will state with moral certainty how long a particular number of men will live; at the end of a year, they say, a certain number will have died. But they cannot go further than this and assert that on this account no man need take thought for his life. Yet this is precisely to what Dr. Morselli's conclusions lead us.

From the investigations of years, it appears that there is more regularity in those events which allow a choice than in purely natural processes. The cycle of harvest failure is modified by improved cultivation, and the ratio of mortality through sanitary relations. Again, in everything that concerns crime we find that the same numbers occur with a constancy which cannot be mistaken. Later inquiries develop the extraordinary fact that the recurrence of crime can be more clearly predicted than the physical laws of disease. The

same number of murders occur annually in the United States, and, what is even more striking, the same number with the same kind of instruments.

To carry out Dr. Morselli's theory consistently, then, a murder-trial would turn on tables of statistics. The court in Guiteau's case, for instance, would have examined into the records to see how many men had committed murder this year with revolvers having white ivory handles. And if the average had not been made up, it would have ordered the gallows to be thrown down, the prison-doors to be opened and the prisoner to be released. Since he was compelled by the powerful law of periodicity, he had no free will in the matter; he was a creature of necessity, a mere molecule; there was no guilt, and consequently there should be no punishment; off, then, with his manacles!

The Periodic Law instead of being fatalistic in its tendency seems to reconcile the long controversy between destiny and free will. In the words of a distinguished American clergyman: "God is unchangeable, and yet He may appoint laws as unvariable as Himself, but capable of modification up to a certain point, easily discernible by those who watch the growth of habits in themselves or in others."

Dr. Morselli also hangs his synthetic inferences on the rickety theories of Malthus, the fallacies in which have been demonstrated time and again by later political and social economists. Morselli admits that the doctrine meets with much opposition, and yet he makes it a foundation-stone in the building which he tries to erect. In the United States especially, the law of Malthus finds few intelligent supporters; nor has it anything on which to base its arguments. We might mention here that Dr. Morselli has left the Great Republic of the West completely out of his investigations. For what reason we do not know, but surely not from any lack of material. In revising a book for American publication, he certainly might have referred to us, even if it were only in the preface. We are evidently of no consequence in scientific discussions.

In regard to his mode of preventing suicide there is also something to be said. The author gives as his antidotes against it: the putting into operation the best system of education, the improving the moral condition of the proletariat classes, the moderation of egotistical tendencies, the bridling of the human passions. Misery, intemperance, dissolution, hopelessness, cowardice—these are powerful causes of weakness and consequently of suicide; but how these evils are to be overcome without the aid of Christianity Dr. Morselli does not attempt to say. And yet Christianity, as being the most potent factor in civilization, tends "to give force and energy to the moral

character, and to develop that power of well-ordering sentiments and ideas by which men attain a certain end in life." The author, however, maps out his book and draws his inferences totally eliminating, or rather neglecting, the whole question of Christianity; relying for his cure on "the establishing of a balance between individual needs and social utility." In other words, he believes that the tendency to suicide amongst civilized peoples can be overcome by a system of education, by the theory that man is part of a great social machine. This may be a very good working hypothesis, but it does not touch bottom by any means. Men, when they are in such a condition as would prompt them to suicide, when overcome by disease, maddened by unrequited love, the loss of money or of friends, or their lives darkened by drink, must be influenced by some powerful motives which would lead them to give up all hope of happiness in this world and seek in death a happy issue out of all their afflictions. And in our opinion, no love for society, no feeling of the duty of "sacrificing one's egoism to the well-being of the whole race," is of itself strong enough to arrest the act. A man on the verge of suicide says, "Of what use am I to society? What have I now in common with my fellow-creatures? Will they not be benefited rather than injured by my death? The struggle for existence will be just so much diminished. Let me curse God and die!" And so the remedy of Dr. Morselli would fail just where it would be most needed. It would simply medicate the symptoms without curing them. For the real cure we must begin higher up—namely, in Christianity.

Christianity deals with such men in a far different way. It has higher principles concerning the duty of man both to himself and to society. It teaches that man must not regard his eternal destiny as confined to this world alone. It reveals unlimited possibilities in this world for knowledge and growth, and gives him in the end a sure hope of happiness in the world to come. Viewing himself in his relations to mankind in this light, he feels bound to society by the strongest ties; and yet he is to a large extent independent of it where reliance on it might lead him to despair.

Christianity, then, would arrest the progress of suicide not merely therapeutically, by declaring it to be criminal, which is certainly a strong preventive in itself, but also prophylactically, by preaching the doctrine of resignation and submission to the will of a Higher Power. Without being able to give anything like fifty tables of statistics, we venture to say that this conclusion is borne out by the facts, and that of the large number of suicides the very smallest proportion is made up of professing Christians.

And so, in conclusion, even if the book is not wholly reliable as a

book of reference, even if its fifty tables of statistics are not beyond dispute as being the production of a biased judgment, it cannot but exert an influence in calling forth the opposition of other scientific men in books which will be reliable, and in this way be provocative of great good as ultimately tending toward truth. And while *Suicide* is hardly a book to be given to "a good scholar," or a volume which we should recommend for a drawing-room table, it is nevertheless earnest, comprehensive and sincere, and will tend no doubt to a dispassionate discussion of what is without question an exceedingly important problem of social science.

Divorce and Divorce Legislation, especially in the United States. By Theodore D. Woolsey. Second Edition revised. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.)

The author of this work has long sustained a high reputation in ethical investigation. Social and political organization, in its various forms, has seemed to attract his examination, and, bringing to his work exceptional endowments, scholarly patience and diversified learning, he has long been regarded as an authority in the history and philosophy of governmental institutions. The subject of this book naturally falls within this province, and the result of his labor is valuable and instructive both as a résumé of the literature on the topic and as an aid to a general effort to improve the divorce laws of the country.

Dr. Woolsey speaks for himself not only, but for all right-minded men, when he deprecates the prevalent laxity in our legislatures and courts on this question, so vital to the moral health of the nation. So long as the laws of the different States are so discordant it is feared that thorough reform will be indefinitely delayed. The first step towards a better sentiment and a safer practice on the subject, so far as the civil power is invoked to a dissolution of marriage, must be to secure uniformity in the legislation of the States and in the decisions of the courts. The author holds and advocates the Scriptural doctrine, viz., "that legal divorce does not, in the view of God and according to the correct rule of morals, authorize either husband or wife, thus separated, to marry again, with a single exception—that when the divorce occurs on account of a sexual crime, the innocent party may without guilt contract a second marriage."

The Christian bodies of the country have doubtless exercised a wholesome restraint upon the more intelligent and moral elements, and we think it can be shown that a large proportion of the frightful aggregate of anti-Scriptural divorces has been obtained by parties who were outside of the instructions of the Church. Nevertheless, the

fact that there are so many who have no higher conception of marriage than that it is a mere civil contract and dissolvable for trivial reasons by either party or by mutual consent, complicates the subject and necessitates uniform judicial decisions.

The argument of the book looks to a return of the civil law to the standard of the New Testament, and as there is an approximate uniformity of view in the different churches, he thinks there should be an organization and solidification of the Christian element of the nation to effect this desirable change in the civil code. Something in this direction has already been reached.

We quote (page 278): "Christian feeling and principle have long felt this growing evil of divorce to be one full of menace to religion, to morality and to the family. Within the last few years the Christian churches have taken it up, and acted against it either in separate or united movement. In 1868 the Episcopal Convention of Connecticut, and, in the same year, the triennial Convention of the whole P. E. Church, discussed, and the latter passed, the following canon: 'No minister (of this Church) knowingly, after due inquiry, shall solemnize the marriage of any person who has a divorced husband or wife still living, if such husband or wife has been put away for any cause arising after marriage. But this canon shall not be held to apply to the innocent party in a divorce for the cause of adultery, or to parties once divorced and seeking to be united again.'

"Another canon, passed several years afterward, ordains that if any minister shall reasonably doubt whether a person desirous of being admitted to Baptism, Confirmation or the Communion, has been married otherwise than as God's Word and the discipline of the Church allows, he shall refer the case to the bishop for his judgment; provided that the Sacraments shall in no case be refused to a penitent person in imminent danger of death."

Here, perhaps, is the place to mention briefly certain movements which have taken place in the last two years respecting divorce. In 1879 a committee of ministers and laymen was appointed by the association of Congregational ministers of Connecticut to procure a reform in the divorce laws, and power was given them to co-operate with committees that might be raised by other Christian bodies within the State. These responded, including the Roman Catholic, and a small change was effected in the laws in that year at their suggestion. The united committees are still acting together, and were followed in several other New England States by organizations founded for the same purpose. More lately, in 1880, a general league was organized for all those States in which all the bodies constituted in the several States were represented. If success meets the efforts of these bodies

to modify the laws, some compromises will be necessary. Thus the Romanist, who cannot accept divorce absolute even for adultery, would need a provision suiting his case, to the effect that the party calling on the court for a remedy shall have the option to choose whether he will petition for divorce or only for separation, temporary or permanent. And perhaps others here and there would wish to make use of the same kind of remedy. Such option is given in the laws of Rhode Island; there, as we have seen, separation from bed and board may be granted for any cause for which divorce may be granted, and for such others as may seem to require them.

We cannot give a more emphatic notice of this book than simply to copy the table of contents. Dr. Woolsey's reputation from his record of work will beget anticipations that make comment unnecessary. Chapter 1st. "Divorce among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans." 2d. "Doctrine of Divorce in the New Testament." 3d. "Law of Divorce in the Roman Empire and in the Christian Church." 4th. "Divorce, and Divorce Laws in Europe since the Reformation." 5th. "Divorce, and Laws of Divorce in the United States." 6th. "Duty of the Church toward Divorce." "Some Hints on Divorce Legislation."

The book closes with an appendix containing matter interesting to the student who looks beyond the merely practical object of the author. It shows clearly, by reference to the changeful laws of divorce in Europe since the Reformation, that all relaxation has led to an increase of immorality and a multiplication of divorces. The only hope for purity in life and for a sacred regard for the divinely instituted family relation lies in an adherence to the divinely prescribed law of marriage, both in its formation and perpetuation.

II. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The Text revised by Brooks Foss Westcott, D.D., and Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., Professors in the University of Cambridge. Introduction and Appendix, by the Editors. (New York: Harper & Brothers.)

This second volume of Drs. Westcott and Hort's *New Testament* (to the Greek text of which we called special attention in the October number) fully meets the high expectations generally formed in regard to the value and effectiveness of their labors. The Introduction, of which the present volume consists, gives a succinct account (1) of the reasons why criticism is still necessary for the text of the

New Testament; (2) of what the editors hold to be the true ground and methods of criticism generally; (3) of the leading facts in the documentary history of the New Testament which appear to them to supply the textual critic with secure guidance; and (4) of the manner in which they have endeavored to embody the results of criticism in the present text. They say, in this connection: "For the principles, arguments and conclusions set forth in the Introduction and Appendix both editors are alike responsible. It was, however, for various reasons expedient that their exposition and illustration should proceed throughout from a single hand; and the writing of this volume and the other accompaniments of the text has devolved on Dr. Hort."

The first two heads above noted, viz., the reasons why criticism is still necessary for the text of the New Testament, and what the editors hold to be the true ground and methods of criticism, occupy but brief space. The principal labor of Dr. Hort is to show, under the third head, the application of principles of criticism to the text of the New Testament. Over 200 pages are devoted to this, and full and accurate details are gone into. The fourth subdivision gives the nature and details of this edition, as to textual notation, orthography, typographical accessories in the way of punctuation, divisions of text, accents, etc. The Appendix contains full notes on select readings and on orthography, together with a complete list of quotations from the Old Testament.

As an *apparatus criticus* this volume will prove profitable to every scholar and student of the original text. It was necessary for the editors to justify their position and many years' labor by sending forth such a volume; and though possibly some of the principles laid down and their application may be considered as not perfectly certain and satisfactory, yet every one will admire the candor, sound learning and profound reverence for the truth of God's Word displayed by the editors. Drs. Westcott and Hort may perhaps rate the *Codex Sinaiticus* (Tischendorf's famous discovery) too highly, may place too entire reliance upon the Vatican MS., and may treat too contemptuously the views of men like Dean Burgon (who put much faith in the conjectural and subjective method of criticism, and the evidence derived from the writings of the fathers); still it is probable that the mode adopted by the learned professors will ultimately prevail. They modestly say, at the close of their Introduction: "Others assuredly in due time will prosecute the task with better resources of knowledge and skill, and amend the faults and defects of our processes and results. To be faithful to such light as could be enjoyed in our own day was the utmost that we could desire. How far we have fallen short of this standard we are well aware; yet

we are bold to say that none of the shortcomings are due to lack of anxious and watchful sincerity." Lest any one should be led to think incorrectly as to this matter of various readings and doubtful passages in the text, the editors are careful to state distinctly that, setting aside mere differences of orthography, "the words still subject to doubt only make up about *one sixtieth* of the whole New Testament."

It is a pleasure as well as privilege to commend these results of twenty-five years' labor to the careful study of our readers, both clergymen and laymen.

The Holy Bible; with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by H. C. Cook, M.A. New Testament, Vol. IV. Hebrews—The Revelation of S. John. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.)

This volume concludes "The Speaker's Commentary." Eighteen years have passed since the work was undertaken, and ten since the publication commenced. In the notice of Vol. III., in the January number of the *Review*, an account is given of the general character of the whole work, which it is unnecessary to repeat here.

The volume before us is exceedingly valuable. It contains Hebrews, by William Kay, D.D., with a very full investigation of the vexed question of authorship, which is decided in favor of S. Paul. The notes appended to the chapters are numerous and useful. The Epistle of S. James, by Robert Scott, D.D., Dean of Rochester; with an excursus on the alleged "conflict" between S. James and S. Paul. I. Peter, by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. II. Peter, by J. R. Lurnby, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. I., II. and III. Epistles of S. John, by the Bishop of Derry, with a very interesting and learned introduction on the canonicity of the first Epistle and its bearing upon that of the fourth Gospel, and also a very full and valuable additional note on the "Water and the Blood," I. John v. 6, to which we call the attention of our readers. S. Jude, by Dr. Lurnby. The Revelation of S. John, by William Lee, D.D., Lecturer in Divinity and Archdeacon of Dublin. This last is the fullest of any of the commentaries, quite half of the volume being devoted to it. A departure from the general rule laid down for the whole work has been the cause of this. The writer has been allowed to present not only his own conclusions, but also a complete view of the systems of interpretation adopted by the chief ancient and modern expositors. We agree with the editor that in this case the reader will welcome the change. In many respects we regard this last volume as the most valuable of the series. We repeat

what we have before said, that we cordially advise those who are looking for a family commentary to procure this one, now so happily completed.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools. The First Book of Samuel, with Maps, Notes and Introduction; the Second Book of Samuel, with the same. By the Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, M.A. (New York and London: Macmillan & Co.)

On a previous occasion we called attention to the series here named, and gave to it the due meed of praise for the volumes thus far issued. We are glad to include Mr. Kirkpatrick's contributions to this series, as being fully equal to other volumes on the Old Testament and as really excellent and valuable for the purposes sought to be gained by "*The Cambridge Bible for Schools.*" Each volume has a carefully prepared historical and critical introduction, and the text is enriched with ample notes, clear and to the point, following which is an Appendix of additional notes. Mr. Kirkpatrick's discussion of the authorship of the Books of Samuel (so called, though plainly the prophet could *not* have written about what took place after his death) and his analysis of the chronology and the life and eventful career of King David are clear, full and satisfactory. We are confident that our readers will find instruction and spiritual profit in consulting and using these books.

The Orthodox Theology of To-Day. By Newman Smyth. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.)

This is a really delightful book. Its style is clear, spirited and decidedly pleasant reading, independently of its subject-matter: and this last is the best part of it. If anybody wishes to see how rapidly the iceberg of old Calvinistic Presbyterianism is melting away in the warm gulf-stream of Catholic Theology, let him read Newman Smyth and be thankful. We could give page after page of telling extracts—all so good that we should hardly know where to begin or when to leave off. But it must not be supposed that the only attractive point is the weakening of the old Calvinism. This would be of little satisfaction if—as in the volume of "*Scotch Sermons*"—the substance of the Christian faith disappeared along with it. But this is far from being the case, as we shall presently show.

First, as to the wearing out of the old Presbyterian "*standards*," so called. Mr. Smyth stands up for "*orthodoxy*"—but it is more like the true orthodoxy of the Catholic Creeds than like the Presbyterian orthodoxy of a few years ago. He is conscious of the change—*very* conscious of it. He is sensible of the process by which he

and others are coming to understand the larger theology, and sometimes talks as if this were something *new* being evolved out of the old, instead of being exactly that *old* thing itself. But his sense of the *historic connection* shows that he is on the right track. He draws a distinction between the real orthodoxy and the old Presbyterian variety, which latter he calls "*orthodoxism*," by way of distinction:

"By orthodoxy I would mean the continuous historical development of the doctrine of Jesus and His Apostles; and the orthodox habit or temper of mind I would consider to be simply fidelity to the teachings of the Spirit of Truth throughout Christian history, as the things of Christ have been witnessed to the Church in its great Confessions, and as the words of the Lord are still opening their meanings, under new providential lights, in the enlarging thought of the Christian world. Orthodoxism, on the other hand, is the dogmatic stagnation and ecclesiastical abuse of orthodoxy. Orthodoxism is an orthodoxy which has ceased to grow—a dried and brittle orthodoxy. Orthodoxism offers a crust of dogma kept over from another century; it fails to receive the daily bread for which we are taught this day to pray. It has been my desire, therefore, throughout these discourses, to represent, so truthfully as I may, the orthodox spirit and belief,—only, not the orthodoxy of yesterday, but of to-day."

Again he speaks of his "growing conviction of our need of a revised theology, suited to our scientific environment, and fitted to survive in modern thought. . . . The desirability of a re-statement of the standards, particularly of my own, the Presbyterian Church." As to the "Westminster Confession," he openly declares that "it does not stand as a prison-house in which any of us are shut up." He admits that "its language is moss-grown and its philosophy antiquated." More than this, he says: "Our *Confession of Faith* is under revision at the present time. It is under revision in every intelligent sermon, in every thoughtful Presbyterian pulpit. It is under revision in every live Presbyterian seminary and in every good Presbyterian paper. Moreover, within the memory of this generation, the Westminster Confession has been factually revised—revised in fact, if not in form." In this last statement he refers to "the admission of the New England, or New School, theology into full recognition in the re-united Presbyterian Church." In another place he asks: "Has any member of this church, as a condition of admission to its fellowship, ever been asked to subscribe to the Westminster Confession?" And as to the changes now going on, he says: "Christianity has shown wonderful power in breaking up its own crusts. They are breaking up now. The ice is going out."

We could quote much more of the same sort: but we must turn to

the other, and better, side. Immediately after telling us that "the ice is going out," he goes on to say: "The primal Christian faiths are not departing; never fear that *they* shall be swept away!" His grasp of the *historical* principle is clear and strong. He says: "The whole history of the Church seems to show that the flow and power of a progressive Christianity has kept *within certain general limits of belief*; and that, too far beyond those limits, both churches and individuals lose the deep, strong current of the divine influence in human history. The repeated failures of attempts to build churches upon a basis of pure individualism, and the incontestable fact that Christianity has made steady progress along the lines of certain common beliefs and historical confessions, are reasons sufficient, at least, to prevent us from dismissing these creeds with an impatient gesture, as though we had only to bow them out in order to bow the world into the Church." And again he says: "Experience proves that when a mind is brought into vital contact with *historical* Christianity, with *the fact* of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that mind at once, and as though a new and divine energy had touched it, expands and rises to enlarged and purified conceptions of God." It only remains that this application of the historical principle should be made as fully and fearlessly to the question of Orders as to that of doctrine, and Mr. Smyth would be with us. He has already gotten so far on his road to true Catholicity that he recognizes the existence and the uses of the Intermediate State; he believes that our Lord preached to "the spirits in prison;" and is clearly of opinion that "prayer for the departed" should be made, both privately and in public worship. He reads the works of Churchmen like Dr. Pusey and Canon Luckock,—and digests them. The more Presbyterians of this sort, the better will it be for "the Church of the Future."

The Creed and Modern Thought. By the Rev. B. Franklin, D.D. (New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.)

This work is of singular value in two different directions. The first is its mastery of, and familiarity with, all those schools of modern thought which are commonly reckoned as being the least in harmony with old-fashioned orthodox Christianity. In this Dr. Franklin—like Dr. Liddon and so many others of our foremost Church thinkers—shows a total absence of alarm, as if any *real* advance or progress of true thought *could* be of any injury to the essence of Catholic Christianity. Instead of thinking that the works of Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, and the rest are to be avoided like so much deadly poison, these true-hearted and courageous champions of the Old Faith meet fearlessly every opponent, however for-

midable he may appear; and by a close examination of his modes of thought, and of any truth which his works may embody, it is soon demonstrated that even the apparent enemy only furnishes fresh defenses for the grand old truths which it was *supposed* that he had overthrown. There is nothing—positively nothing—in the whole range of modern scientific discovery which interferes in the slightest degree with the Catholic faith.

The second point in which Dr. Franklin's work is remarkable is his demonstration of the close logical method by which the Creed is unfolded, article by article, so as to make it a really living and organic whole. In this part of his work as well as the other, Dr. Franklin's handling of his great subject is really masterly.

The only drawback we have found in the perusal of this valuable book is in the condensation of the style, which is now and then carried to such a degree as to require very close attention from the reader to avoid some obscurity of effect. The blemish, however, is very slight.

We commend a study of this volume to all those who *think* that their early faith has been impaired by reading Herbert Spencer, Huxley, or any of the rest of the lengthening list. In most cases this is merely a surface impression, which further thought and study will dispel. Maturer examination will show that what is good and true in them is *not* contrary to the Catholic faith; and that what in them *seemed* to be irreconcilable with the Catholic faith is merely assumption, or hypothesis, or mistake, or pure imagination. And every one making the examination in an earnest and conscientious spirit will be thankful to find so staunch and true a guide as Dr. Franklin.

The Revelation of the Risen Lord. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. (New York and London: Macmillan & Co.)

This book the author designed as a supplement to "The Gospel of the Resurrection," and it admirably meets all the requisites of a sequel. It formulates facts and truths and thus completes the subject. Although it does not profess, primarily, to deal with the proofs of the Resurrection, yet it is strong in confirmatory and cumulative evidence arising, incidentally, in the development of his treatment.

The theme of the book is the progressive character of "the revelation of the Risen Lord." The successive appearances are described and specifically characterized as new revelations of His person, character, and purposes, growing out of the new relations between Himself and His friends. Thus while He proved Himself to be the same Christ and Master whom they had loved and followed, who had been crucified and buried—who had triumphantly risen from the grave and had made Himself known first to Mary—yet increasingly, until His final

ascension, were His exalted dignity and mysterious glorification revealed.

While the basis of the book is a record of simple facts, the argument is cumulative and grows out of the varying character of the facts in the life of the Risen Christ. The analogue is skillfully traced in the individual religious life—as through “love,” “thought,” “active work” or “patient waiting,” faith in the Risen Saviour is perfected.

The thoughtful reading of the book will prove helpful in exalting and enlarging conceptions of the Person of Christ, and will awaken a more trustful and loving faith in His work. Thus while the views of the disciple will be clarified, touching the action of Christ in the interval between His Resurrection and Ascension, his affection will be more fully evoked and more steadily centered on Him as *his* Saviour and Lord.

We will not attempt a résumé of contents, trusting that the foregoing brief statement of its method will sufficiently indicate its staple of thought. To say that it is reverent, scriptural and scholarly in its handling would be superfluous, inasmuch as the author's reputation has long been established by his character and work.

The Bedell Lecture for 1881—The World's Witness to Jesus Christ: The Power of Christianity in developing Modern Civilization. By the Rt. Rev. John Williams, D.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

The Bedell Foundation is devoted to the establishment of a lecture or lectures in the Institutions at Gambier on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, or the “Relations of Science and Religion.” The Bishop was honored by selection as first lecturer (as in the Pad-dock Foundation), and gave the two, here presented to the public in a dress of clear type and tasteful binding. They were read on Founders' Day, Nov. 1, 1881, accompanied by other services appropriate to All-Saints' Day.

The first lecture is devoted to a review of the preparatory processes of history for the coming of Jesus Christ. With certain starting points admitted—viz., (1) “that in the civilized world, everywhere, we find some form of Christianity, and, whatever the form may be, it rests for its authentication and its motive power, nay, for its life and being, on one person, Jesus of Nazareth;” (2) “that at a certain definite period in the world's history there lived in Palestine one who was known as Jesus of Nazareth, and that He was the author of that faith and the founder of that Church which are embraced in the general term of Christianity;” (3) “that at the time when He whom we call our Lord was to be born men were everywhere yearn-

ing and hoping for a better day than the world had seen,"—with these facts assumed he develops a conclusive argument, by way of testimony, from the history, more particularly, of the Græco-Macedonian Empire, of Greece with her commerce, colonization and culture, and Rome with her conquests, her roads and her laws. The argument is that "the deeply rooted instinct of humanity for union" was answered when the "iron Roman law" bound the nations into one. But this unification did not terminate in the mere politico-historical fact, but was providentially employed as a potent factor in the dissemination and establishment of the Christian faith.

The second lecture shows how, under the guidance of God, men had "builded better than they knew," and also that the religion of Christ is the *only one* that met the conditions presented at the coming of Christ, or that could accomplish for the race that for which the "previous history had been the unconscious preparation." Again he shows that our present civilization, "with its great attainments in science and in the industrial arts," owes its origin, its progress and its perpetuation to Christianity. But higher than science, industrial arts, language or letters is the "moral education of nations," and in that emphatically lies the power of Christianity.

We have given a very inadequate sketch of these two admirable lectures, but sufficient we trust, to awaken a desire to possess them. The Bishop only confirms and enlarges the reputation he had already earned by such scholarly work. Such a short, pithy and direct presentation of one phase or branch of the general argument on "*the evidences*" will often accomplish more than tomes of labored learning.

The New Man and the Eternal Life. Notes on the reiterated Amens of the Son of God. By Andrew Jukes. (New York: Thomas Whitaker.)

This author has been long before the religious public. More than forty years ago he ventured upon book-making, and at short intervals has renewed the risk and toil from then until now. The last, like all its predecessors, has special characteristics of defects and excellencies. He is a man who shows the results of patient Biblical research in creditable scholarly attainments; and in the treatment of his theme always imparts much useful knowledge, but he lacks definiteness of thought and terseness of expression. This may arise somewhat from his habit of interweaving his composition with Bible phraseology, which, also, sometimes imparts a quaintness to his style that, of itself, detracts from its force.

There is much in this book that is both striking and edifying as he presents "The New Man" in successive stages of character and rela-

tions. The introduction treats of "The Amen" and "The Disciple which testifieth." The following twelve chapters he devotes to his special theme, "The New Man:" his *Home, Birth, Law, Meat, Liberty, Divine Nature, Service, Sacrifice, Humiliation, Glory and Power, Sorrow and Joy, and Perfecting*. The concluding chapter naturally completes the climax on "The New Man and the Eternal Life."

While there is no special force of thought or new insight displayed in the book, yet it begets a familiarity with Bible instruction touching a cardinal religious truth and an essential item in the religious experience that is comforting and a source of power in life. The resources, duties and privileges of the growing Christian man are, directly and indirectly, well brought out by his method of treatment. Upon the whole, we can say that the book is good and will do good.

Lands of the Bible. A Geographical and Topographical Description of Palestine. With letters of travel in Egypt, Syria, Asia-Minor and Greece, by J. W. McGarvey, Professor of Sacred History in the College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

The literature of exploration is rapidly becoming voluminous. The student who wishes to keep abreast with the latest archaeological discoveries must either turn specialist or forego much in other departments of learning. Fortunately, however, there is one proximate relief to this necessity. The latest traveler, if he possess the requisites for his work, viz., scholarly preparation, quenchless enthusiasm and unalloyed honesty in his search for truth and fact, when he puts the results of his own investigation into book-form, always brings to light what has been accomplished by his predecessors, thereby simplifying his own task and qualifying his reader for an intelligent judgment upon the aggregate of knowledge gained.

This is the precise relation of our author to the work he assumed and to its record as it lies before us. He was familiar with all that had been attained from Dr. Robinson to Merrill of "The East of the Jordan" researches. W. F. Lynch, of the American Navy, Dr. J. T. Barclay, missionary in Jerusalem, Dr. William Thomson, missionary in Sidon and Beirut, had each contributed the results of special exploration to the general fund. Again, there had been numerous books published since 1858, when "The Land and the Book" was issued, but no material addition, however, had been made to the knowledge of the subject until the work of the "Palestine Exploration Fund of Great Britain" was inaugurated. Captains Anderson, Wilson and Warren, and Lieutenant Conder with competent assistants

were employed by this organization, and the results of their labors have been published in various forms from time to time.

Prof. McGarvey was thoroughly equipped for his work by way of attained knowledge, and in the prosecution of it has shown a trained judgment, scholarly caution and a frank acceptance of trustworthy evidence even where it disturbed cherished opinions. He is an alert observer, a skillful generalizer, and a clear writer, and hence has given us a book interesting and profitable as an increment to former knowledge.

The general divisions are: Part 1st. The Geography of Palestine. 2d. The Topography of Palestine. 3d. Letters of Travel. The material of the first two parts is quite unlike that of most tourists which usually has assumed an easy and picturesque form in which, not unfrequently, there has been too much of the mere thrill and color of travel. The description of peoples, of customs, of ancient sites, buildings, etc., bears the impress of verisimilitude, and is presented in the shape of continuous composition. In fact, even the Letters of the 3d Part are free from the monotony of the usual diary, and while more elastic in style than the other portions of the book show equal accuracy of observation and cultivated skill in structure.

Notable scenes, places and buildings are well illustrated, while the printing is clear and the binding sightly. We commend the book as a valuable aid to a correct knowledge of the "Lands of the Bible."

Supplicium Aeternum—The Hereafter of Sin: What it will be. With answers to certain questions and objections. By Rev. John W. Haley, M.A. (Andover: Warren F. Draper.)

This is a timely production, and well adapted to one class of doubters. When skepticism has so smitten the mental and moral nature of a man that he yields to a cherished bondage, neither the logic of reason nor inspiration can release him. This argument is designed for those who, while in darkness, wish to come to the light. It is supplementary to the Bible or textual argument for the eternity of punishment. It is strictly logical and philosophical, and is conducted with candor, skill and force. The object of the writer is to show that the theory of "Future Punishment," deducible from the Scriptures, accords with sound philosophy, and this he does, in large measure, by psychological analysis. The mental and moral constitution of man, as exhibited in normal and abnormal conditions, is made to testify in favor of such punishment as a necessary factor in God's government.

Part I—"Future Retribution. Demand for and nature of it"—is an exhaustive and powerful cumulative argument based upon a dis-

section of man's moral consciousness. Especially is the section showing the "self-perpetuating tendency of moral character" pertinent and strong.

Part II is devoted to the consideration of questions and objections. These are frankly put and skilfully met. We know of no book of so small a compass in which there is so much condensed argument and successful refutation on the subject of "Future Punishment." There is material enough to be amplified into a work of much more formidable size. We congratulate the author on his exceptional combination of brevity and effectiveness.

Ecce Spiritus: A Statement of the Spiritual Principle of Jesus as the Law of Life. (Boston: George H. Ellis.)

Not unlike "Ecce Homo" in general tone, though rather seeking to exalt the Spirit than the humanity of Christ, this book goes directly to the heart of the age in its grasp of spiritual religion. It is a series of essays upon "the spiritual principle of Jesus as the law of life," and is evidently the first-fruits of a singularly well-balanced and intuitional writer. The thought is uncommonly searching and suggestive. The author is a young Unitarian minister, the Rev. Edward F. Hayward, who was graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1874, and is now in charge of a parish in Massachusetts. This is his first venture in theological literature, and is chiefly valuable as an expression of the present religious thought of those who are "not wholly without hope of a possible meeting-ground between faith and fact," and who constitute a "large proportion of the earnest thinking people to-day all over the world." For this growing and important class "Ecce Spiritus" has been written. It is the word of one who is himself almost unattached in his relations to formal Christianity for those who, though deeply serious, are feeling about for a new expression of Christian truth, and are waiting to become members of the "Church of the Future." In this view the book has great importance. Like "Ecce Homo" and the "Data of Ethics" and the latest words of Dr. Martineau, it is an attempt to formulate a new ethical relation of man to God, and is largely concerned with what Jesus has taught on this subject. Such volumes are always rather symptomatic than constructive, but they are none the less helpful in their generally constructive character. The author of "Ecce Spiritus" finds in Jesus little more than the perfect teacher of ethics. He rejects the idea that the Cross had anything to do with the restoration of men to God. He has a limited conception of institutional as distinguished from ethical religion. And yet few recent writers have shown a better grasp of the conditions of religious advance-

ment in our time; few have more delicately indicated how closely Jesus is identified with the Son of God without expressly stating it; few have touched with a more accurate pen the deepest meaning of the Incarnation; few have come so near expressing the divinely human meaning of Christ's death on the Cross, and few have better expressed the need of just that conception of race-relation to God which the Church has been placed in the world to maintain. The remarkable thing about this book is its interpretation of the ethical spirit of our own time. The author understands the under-currents of philosophical necessity, though making no parade of his knowledge, and his construction writing is chiefly directed to showing what the new service of the Church to humanity ought to be. Far as this writer is from expressing Church principles, his helpful suggestions are in the line of the very work the Church is setting itself to do. A few sentences will indicate both the breadth and depth of his insight into the times that are and are yet to be: "There is a sense in which men are growing apart, in which individuality is taking the place of the old-time dependence of one upon another. The race is stronger, more self-centered than formerly; and the element in social life which deified the pattern in men has given place to that of independent personality. And yet in many ways, and on the whole, the tendency seems to be in the other direction." "To combine, to concentrate, to simplify is the desideratum of an age in which life has become complex. Race existence first tends to spread itself; then there comes the need of a closer union." "A Church is coming, independent of state or artificial process, out of this very community of life and interest, which will more nearly realize that simple social life in things religious which Jesus created and sanctioned." "There will be more rather than less religious association in the future, when the greatest spiritual good of the greatest number shall be the motto of the true Church of God and man, in which sign and symbol shall in nowise shut the soul from either the perception or the realization of truth. This cannot come until the sacredness and power of the Church have been accepted from a new standpoint in the minds of men. Not until it is regarded for more than its archaeological interest as a mere link with the past and that which preserves the sacred, will it come to its full dignity and usefulness." "So long as life lasts, the various means of inspiration and impressiveness which a true Church of God can bring to bear will have an important part to play. But the Church must be careful to recognize and meet the need. It must be honest, manly, simple, sincere, with the manliness and simplicity of Jesus. With the gravest of responsibilities, it must be true to the highest, and yet true in all practical

and helpful ways. The Church can no longer hope to stand in the strength of its impregnable doctrine, but in its own living desirableness, in the claim that is recognized by every touched and satisfied consciousness."

These passages are an evidence of the positive yet somewhat free statements of the author. They are quoted to show that he is in close sympathy with the present object and purpose of the American Church, and that his book is worth a careful reading by all who study the tendencies of the times. It would be easy to point out what he has not said, but the most remarkable thing about "*Ecce Spiritus*" is that, with the author's antecedents, he has said what he has.

The Bible—A Scientific Revelation. By Rev. C. C. Adams, S.T.D. (New York: James Pott.)

In the controversy raging between the pseudo-advocates of science and religion it is well, occasionally, to proclaim a truce. Thereby the attitude of the parties may be more distinctly ascertained, and the loss or gain of each may be more accurately estimated. This book is from the pen of an intelligent observer, whose sympathies and conclusions are *out of accordance* with both parties in the contest. It is an original and unique production, and demands consideration from both scientists and theologians.

The author regards Creation and the Bible as the joint source of science, and hence has no fears of legitimate investigation, and deprecates the idea of irreconcilable conclusions where exegesis and analysis have been rational and true. The theory of evolution is shown to be neither philosophical nor consistent with the induction of facts in any department of investigation, while the Bible-record of creation is shown to be in harmony with the developments of science; and again the now established "fundamental laws of astronomy and chemistry, of geology and biology," explain the work of creation as it is revealed in the Bible.

Therefore theology and science are intimately related, the one illustrative and confirmatory of the other, and scientists and theologians should be co-workers. When reason, experiment and induction of facts join with faith and experience in harmony of aspiration, the correspondence of physical with spiritual laws will be seen, and their common origin will be recognized. This is the fundamental and formative idea of the book, viz., that "creation is the incipient stage of God's greater work of redemption."

One feature of the book will attract attention and provoke criticism. It advocates a "sudden and recent" creation in opposition to the age theory of gradual preparation and development. His argu-

ment is based on the fact that "from the latest scientific investigations it is evident that the elements and forces of nature were simultaneously created," and "moreover it is impossible to imagine how the worlds and systems could have been framed together and held together as they now are, by their reciprocal laws, in any other way than simultaneously."

From Chapter IX. to the close, the book increases in interest by reason of its more distinct theological relations. The "Incarnation," "Christ's Messianic Kingdom," "Christ's Ministry on Earth," "The Reign of the Holy Ghost," "Creation finished," all culminate in the completion of the great work of redemption.

The book is timely and will do much in dispelling doubt from minds, without scientific knowledge, which have been disturbed by scientific objections to the Bible-record of creation. It is the work of a thoughtful and scholarly man who has striven, because of his love of knowledge and of religion, to slay the unnatural hostility that has arisen where only friendship and co-operation should reign. *The God of Nature and of Science is One*, and he fails to see how revelations, whether by two or a dozen methods, can be contradictory.

Helps to Meditation. Sketches for every Day in the Year. By the Rev. Alfred G. Mortimer. Vol. I. Advent to Trinity. (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.)

The object of this book, as its title implies, "is to assist in overcoming one difficulty in meditation, the arrangement of the materials, by supplying points for consideration without developing them so as to encroach on the province of meditation;" also, to furnish "outlines of sermons for the use of those clergy who, from press of work, may have little leisure for study." We think the writer has been successful in carrying out his plan; the Meditations are brief, well arranged, and suggestive, leaving room for individual development. They profess to be written not in a controversial spirit; this is true, in so far as they simply set forth the author's views without attack or defense.

The Mystery of the Passion of our Most Holy Redeemer. By the Rev. W. J. Knox Little, M.A. (New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co.)

Ten brief sermons by this celebrated preacher, delivered, five in S. Paul's, London, and five in his own church in Manchester. They are full of beautiful illustrations and glowing thoughts. Yet we must confess to disappointment. They are too diffuse, brief though they be. They want concentration and point. After reading we feel that we have perused beautiful words and true thoughts, but a vague, somewhat confused impression only of what is taught remains. We at-

tribute this in a great measure to their extemporaneous character and imperfect recovery. We can readily believe that to those who had the good fortune to hear them they must have been very impressive.

The One Religion; Truth, Holiness and Peace desired by the Nations, and revealed by Jesus Christ. By Rev. John Wordsworth, M.A., etc. (Oxford and London: Parker & Co.)

This volume contains the Bampton Lectures delivered during the past year, and deserves an honorable position among its many predecessors. The previous writings of the author gave evidence of his wide and careful reading, which has been of great service in the preparation of his present work. With his evident learning there is a breadth and impartiality of judgment which adds very considerably to the weight of the conclusions he draws from the various sources at his command.

His arguments as to the unity of God and of His religion must be deemed very strong even by the advocates of pantheism, and in this connection we would particularly commend his exposure of the insufficiency of Islamism and the inconsistencies of Mahomet. One of the most interesting and satisfactory portions of the work is that wherein are proved the natural expectation of Divine Truth and the confession of human incapacity of attaining to it, as illustrated in the writings of pre-Christian moralists and in the rites of heathen nations. This is especially brought out in the chapter relating to our Blessed Lord's Incarnation and Atonement. Whether we consider the *negative* side of the religious questions discussed as found in non-Christian systems, or their *positive* aspect as seen in the Catholic Church, no one can read these lectures attentively without having his faith confirmed and recognizing in that Church the best and most accessible means whereby human wants can be satisfied.

Mention should also be made of a valuable appendix on Buddhism, contributed by Dr. Oscar Frankfurter.

Lessons on the Beatitudes. For the use of Sunday-schools. By Edith L. Chamberlain. (London: W. Skeffington & Son.)

This little book is a good specimen of the valuable work for the Church's children which in our times earnest-minded women are so frequently doing. Commended by the Rev. T. T. Carter and the Rev. W. E. Heygate, we may without much examination feel assured of its reliable character, but after reading it carefully no one can fail to see in it an excellent manual for Sunday-school instruction. The line of thought is closely Scriptural, and the manner in which the several truths of the Beatitudes—now, happily, used as a canticle in so many Children's Services—are brought out and illustrated is at once

interesting, simple and practical. The employment of the figure of a ladder for impressing the lessons upon the scholars' memory is a good idea, and may serve for a hint as to like figures for other subjects.

The New Infidelity. By Augustus Radcliffe Grote. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Mr. A. R. Grote is a gentleman of whom we confess we have never before heard. He presents himself here as an apostle of "the new infidelity," whatever that may be, and, with a patronizing air towards religion and religious people, he assures deluded and weak-headed Christians of his sympathy and his readiness to help them in their troubles. He looks (he says) "for a wider Elysium, a more liberal paradise, *the Eternity of matter and space*;" and if we can follow him in this, we may be as happy as he holds himself to be. Apparently he is an amiable young man of the evolutionist school; and he seems to imagine that he has solved all the difficulties of religion and has discovered, in that heterogeneous mass of guesswork and speculation called science, the panacea for all the ills of the human family. The *new* infidelity, however, is hardly anything but the *old* with a less fierce and abusive aspect. It means to destroy Christianity, if it can, just as it always has meant to do. But that day is no nearer now than it ever was; and it will need something stronger than Mr. Grote's present puny effort to disturb the faith of Christians in God's Holy Word, or cause them to distrust the promise of the Great Head of the Church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.

Weariness. By H. L. Sidney Lear. (New York: James Pott.)

The subject of the first chapter gives the title to the book. A variety of topics is embraced, but all are, more or less, related to an anxious and sad condition of mind. The author's aim is to give good counsel, and to show the only philosophy by which the ills of life can be transmuted into occasions of blessing. The staple of the book is practicalized religion, and is advice as to the times and methods of reducing Bible doctrine, precept and promise to the experimental exigencies of life.

The style is simple and well calculated to impart practical wisdom to cheerless souls by its apt illustrations and incisive common-sense. The writer shows experience in the diagnosis of spiritual disease, and skill in the suggestion of curative treatment. The book will repay thoughtful reading by all who are inclined to despondent moods.

A Churchman's Library is embraced in the five small volumes of the Rev. John Henry Blunt's *Keys to the Knowledge and Use of the Holy Bible—to the Knowledge and Use of the Book of Common Prayer—to*

Christian Doctrine and Practice, founded on the Church Catechism—to the Knowledge of Church History (Ancient)—and to the Knowledge of Church History (Modern). And the Church is greatly indebted to Messrs. E. and J. B. Young & Co. (New York) for the beautiful and cheap edition they have just published. At forty cents a volume they ought to find their way into many Church homes. And when once there they would be sure to direct the members of the household into the ways of Christ and His Church.

Every candidate for Confirmation ought to read these volumes, and possess them for study and reference through life. For they give the information Churchmen so much need to make them efficient and contented workers in the Master's kingdom upon earth.

The Church Seasons. By Alexander H. Grant, M.A. (New York: Thomas Whittaker)—has reached a Second and Revised Edition.

Short Sermons for Families and Destitute Parishes. By John N. Norton, D.D. (New York: Thomas Whittaker)—has reached its Thirteenth Edition. This fact not only proves their popularity, but that they are accomplishing the object of their author.

The Churchman's Altar Manual and Guide to Holy Communion; together with the Collects, Epistles and Gospels and a selection of Appropriate Hymns with an introductory note by the Rev. Morgan Dix, S.T.D. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.)

The Communicant. A Manual of Devotions for Holy Communion. Edited by W. O. Parton, Rector of Kingston-by-Sea. Adapted to use in the United States. (New York: Thomas Whittaker.)

Morning, Noon and Night. A Pocket Manual of Private Prayer, with meditations on selected passages of Scripture, Hymns and Prayers for special occasions. By Clergymen of the Church of England. Edited by Rev. Edward Garbett. (New York: Thomas Whittaker.)

Private Devotions for Young Persons. Compiled by Elizabeth M. Sewell. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.)

The Book of Hours, in which are contained Offices for the Seven Canonical Hours, Litanies and other Devotions. Compiled By Morgan Dix, S.T.D. New Edition. (New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.)

These are recent manuals of devotion received, and which we commend without comment to our readers.

III. HISTORY.

The Origin of Primitive Superstitions, and their Development into the Worship of Spirits, and the Doctrine of Spiritual Agency, among the Aborigines of America. Illustrated. By Rushton M. Dorman (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Although this book has a definite range of investigation, its generalizations apply to the entire field of mythology. The aim of the writer is to show the homogeneity of man's primitive religious beliefs, and that the rudimentary forms, with their systematic development, are the same among equally uncultured peoples everywhere and at all times in the history of the world. The similarity of beliefs and usages in widely sundered localities and in millennial separations of ages can only be accounted for, philosophically, by ascribing them to the natural outgrowth of the human mind, everywhere the same in the same stage of progress.

Our author says: "Mythologists have studied myths without studying the superstitions which have found expression in the myths. They have exhausted resources in attempts to prove that the higher phases of belief and worship have been the most ancient and have become debased in the ruder forms. Voss endeavors to find in pagan myths a distortion of Hebrew revelations. Dupuis, with his Sabaistic origin for cults, looks to astronomy for a solution. Abbé Banier finds in mythology "history of poetic dress." Creuzer sees nothing but symbols, and shows much erudition in his attempts to find their hidden meaning. Nearly all mythologists have fixed upon some locality where myths have originated, in the infancy of the human race, and whence they have spread, by transmission or migration, into the rest of the earth. Pococke and Sir William Jones locate their origin in the east; Rudbeck, in the north; Bryant, among the Hebrews. A new departure has been taken, however, in mythological science."

The postulate of the author is definitely stated, viz., "All primitive religious belief is polytheistic." This proposition at once arouses antagonism on the part of a large class of archaeological and anthropological investigators who assume the opposite, viz., that polytheism is the perversion or corrupt result of a prior monotheism. Of course if superstition can be traced to a common origin and that origin is *animism*, or the fear of spirits in animate and inanimate nature, then the question is greatly simplified if not conclusively settled. The doctrine of transmigration in the Orient, the animal worship of the Egyptians, the Sabaism of the Persians, are but stages of progress in a religious evolution. The pagoda of the Orient, the pyramid of

Egypt, the temple of Greece, are but the representations in art of a superstition that finds its first expression in a more primitive form. The laws of evolution in the spiritual world can be traced with as great precision as in the material world. Much labor has been spent in the study of the laws of man's social progress, and much success has followed such effort. While a progressive movement must be recognized in all social institutions among peoples that have attained any degree of civilization, yet the tendency of all the evidence is to show that the highest development of religious culture among pagan nations has not attained to monotheism; on the contrary, the principles that control all religious thought among primitive peoples will work themselves out in polytheism among those peoples in lower stages of culture, or in pantheism among those of a higher culture.

The investigation is confined to the aborigines of the New World or the Western Continent. The book is highly interesting apart from the definite object placed before the reader and towards which he is led by a large induction of facts. Even should he lose sight of the end in view he cannot but be absorbed by the matter and method of the author. The facts detailed are presented in so clear, direct and crisp a style, accompanied with just enough philosophizing to secure a strong grasp on the attention, while the avoidance of hostility to other theories is so adroit, that the mind quietly and unconsciously accepts the conclusions of the writer.

The range of topics may be indicated by the inclusive headings of the chapters; viz., "Doctrine of Spirits," "Fetchistic Superstitions," "Rites and Ceremonies connected with the Dead," "Animal Worship," "Worship of Trees and Plants," "Worship of Remarkable Natural Objects," "Sabaism," "Animistic Theory of Meteorology," "Priestcraft."

The author gives abundant evidence of his large familiarity with the literature of the subject, and by his inductive method, we think, has exemplified the only normal and safe method in any archæological investigation. Man is constitutionally religious, but not necessarily monotheistic, and certainly not Christian, in his primary beliefs. The author has done well to devote time to such study and examination, and thoughtful men, interested in anthropology and religion, will thank him for his book. In addition to its higher merits it has clear type, wide pages, fine illustrations and a sightly dress.

The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy; or, The Geography, History and Antiquities of Parthia. Collected and illustrated from Ancient

and Modern Sources. By George Rawlinson, M.A. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.)

The writer of this volume has made for himself an enduring name by his several contributions to ancient history. "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World," viz., Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon Media and Persia (republished in three octavo volumes), is a work evidencing deep and laborious research, and is now recognized as a standard in this important department of human knowledge. The present volume (first published some years ago) gives a continuation of the history of the East; and the learned writer, in a subsequent volume (announced for early publication), presents the history of "The Seventh Oriental Monarchy," as a completion of the series.

In the History of Parthia, Professor Rawlinson makes it a point to show that "the picture of the world during the Roman period, commonly put before students in histories of Rome, is defective, not to say false, in its omission to recognize the real position of Parthia during the three most interesting centuries of that period, as a counterpoise to the power of Rome, a second figure in the picture not much inferior to the first, a rival state dividing with Rome the attention of mankind and the sovereignty of the known earth." He complains, and not unreasonably, of the exaggerated way in which Gibbon and others represent the later Republic and early Empire as, practically, a power unchecked, unbalanced, having no other limits than those of the civilized world, engrossing consequently the whole attention of all thinking men, and free to act exactly as it pleased, without any regard to opinion beyond its own borders. He holds that it is a mistake to suppose that Rome was so supreme as that there was no place of refuge on the face of the earth for one who had incurred her enmity. In his view, Rome was never in this position, but that, from first to last, from the time of Pompey's eastern conquests to the fall of the Empire, there was always in the world a second power, civilized or semi-civilized, which in a true sense balanced Rome, acted as a counterpoise and a check, had to be consulted or considered, held a place in all men's thoughts, and finally furnished a not intolerable refuge to such as had provoked Rome's master beyond forgiveness. This power for nearly three centuries (B.C. 64—A.D. 225) was Parthia, and to the history of this power the present volume is devoted.

It is not too much to say that Professor Rawlinson has demonstrated the truth of his view of ancient history. The volume now before us is written with the same care and discrimination as mark his previous labors. He has left no point unexamined, and allowed no difficulty to remain which is capable of solution. The work is

full and complete. It gives an accurate account of the geography, climate and natural peculiarities of Parthia proper and, to a considerable extent, of the neighboring regions. It details the origin and establishment of the Parthian kingdom and its consolidation in the third century B.C.; and it narrates in a lively manner the first disastrous collision of Rome with Parthia, when Crassus was so ignominiously defeated (B.C. 54). The subsequent history of Parthia occupies the rest of the volume and is full of interest, exemplifying fully the writer's view as to the position of this empire in its relation to Rome. The last two chapters give a clear and sufficiently full account of the architecture and ornamental art of the Parthians, and of their manners and customs, private and public life, extent of refinement and culture, etc.

The volume is well supplied with maps and plans, as well as copious and pertinent illustrations. Also, a list of authors quoted and a tolerably full index render it as complete as possible for the use of the student and general reader.

History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain. By T. E. Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Vol. I. Britons, Picts, Scots and Anglo-Saxons. Vol. II. Anglo-Normans, Later English and Scotch. *Permissu Superiorum.* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.)

These two volumes, attractive in typography and in external appearance, are full of matters of various interest. The theologian, the liturgist, the historian, the philosopher, the student of men and of their methods of thought, may all find here material for most interesting study. The author opens his subject thus:

"How wonderful has been the history of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain! For more than a thousand years the races that successively peopled the island regarded the celebration of this Sacrament as the central rite of their religion, the principal means of divine worship, the principal channel of divine grace. The Holy Eucharist was the great mystery of faith, the object not only of fear and of love, but also of supreme adoration. Then a change came, and now for more than three hundred years this view of our Lord's Institution has been rejected with an energy and perseverance which no language can exaggerate. Altars of sacrifice were broken in pieces or condemned to the vilest uses. The doctrine of masses was called 'a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit,' the worship of our Lord beneath the 'sacramental veils' 'idolatry.' The offering of Mass by Catholic priests was punished with cruel death, the repudiation of it was required as the price of social preferment or of

civil liberty. In the belief in the Holy Eucharist a test was found to distinguish between the professors of two opposite religions. Even to this day a solemn abjuration of the ancient Catholic doctrine is required when the crown is placed on the head of the most exalted ruler of the nation. It is evident, then, that whichever of these views is embraced, a history of this rite, even a partial history, professedly restricted to one country, ought to be full of interest and instruction. If the Protestant view be correct, then it will be a history of idolatry in worship and consequent corruption in morals. If, on the other hand, the Catholic view be the true one, it will be the history of God's fidelity to His promises, His watchful providence over His Church, His gracious dealings with men, and we shall have many a fair page to unroll of the mutual love of the Creator and His creatures, though those pages may be defaced with some foul blots of man's ingratitude."

It is such a history, from the Roman point of view, that is attempted in this work. The author's assumptions we are not called upon to notice, nor have we space to enter into any arguments to disprove his; but we can honestly bear witness to the excellent spirit pervading his work, to his evident sincerity and devotion, and to the lucidity of his style. He writes clearly and attractively, states his position distinctly, and is not tedious in the length of his chapters. The only fault which is very prominent, and calls for the adverse criticism of a "heretic," is the constant appeal to miracles of the early and middle centuries to attest the Roman doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. It seems to our hardened hearts rather to weaken than to strengthen the force of the argument. If one is not convinced otherwise, he certainly will not find belief easier when required to accept not only the assertions of the writer, but also in addition a mass of legend and poetry and at least uncertain tradition, concerning visions and wonders and miraculous cures dating from the days of S. Gregory of Tours and earlier.

An Anglican Churchman can hardly find cause for disagreement with our author in all that he says concerning the belief and practice of the Church in Britain after what we call the Roman Usurpation. When Augustine and his successors had won the victory over the prejudices, pride, self-will or whatever it was that made difficult their conquest of the early British Church, then the Mass became in England what it was in all the countries acknowledging the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. The chapters of most interest to us are those which treat of the early British Church and its attitude towards Augustine when he first attempted to influence its Bishops in behalf of his papal master. Our author is very ready to acknowl-

edge that from whatever source Christianity first was propagated in Britain, it was certainly there propagated between the time of the Apostles and the year 200, inasmuch as Tertullian, writing in 208, says, that "the places of the Britons, unvisited by the Romans, were yet subject to Christ and believed in Him." He mentions the presence of British Bishops at the Council of Arles in 314, probably at Nicæa in 325, at Sardica in 347, and again at Ariminum in 359. He argues that as this Church was in full communion with the Holy See and the rest of the Catholic world, therefore it was in faith and practice identical with all the rest of the Church, and its doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, therefore, that of Rome then, now and always; namely, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Adoration of the Lord Present under the sacramental veils.

Then came the Saxon devastations, and in 596 S. Augustine arrived in Britain, sent by Gregory, not only for the welfare of the heathen invaders, but also for that of its older Christian inhabitants.

These latter he sought out, "not, as many modern historians pretend, to impose on them Roman fetters hitherto unknown, nor even to subject them to his own metropolitan jurisdiction, but to invite them to join in the spiritual conquest of the conquerors of their country. It is well known that his efforts were unsuccessful, that the Britons took no part in the evangelization of the Anglo-Saxons, and remained for centuries in hostility." (p. 79.)

We have been wont to account for this by the statement that S. Augustine announced a supremacy of the Bishop of Rome unknown before, and justly repudiated by the British Christians; but our author has a different view. "I cannot but attribute it," he says, "to spiritual pride and national resentment working subtly together and giving birth to uncharitableness and a Pharisaic spirit of isolation tending towards schism. . . . The British Bishops who met S. Augustine in conference judged him to be proud and arrogant because of the omission of an arbitrary and accidental form of courtesy [he did not rise from his seat at their approach]; while they proved themselves obstinately attached to their own judgments, indocile to their lawful superior and unforgiving to their enemies." (pp. 79, 81.)

The words "lawful superior," in the above extract, seem to us to beg the whole question, and to render our author himself obnoxious to some of the blame which he freely accords to others when he says, at the close of the chapter: "There is perhaps no fact in history which has been so much distorted as that of the conference between S. Augustine and the Britons. Bede has been accused of suppression of truth, S. Augustine of pride, duplicity and even of wicked ven-

geance. . . . Imaginary speeches have been put into the mouth of Dinot the Abbot. . . . Conclusions have been drawn from the simple narration of Bede, regarding Papal supremacy which would astonish Augustine and the Britons alike." One would think that *Roman* historians were the only writers who had no genius for elaborate distortion; but history gives abundant testimony otherwise.

We cannot further indicate the author's position on this subject, so interesting to all who believe in the true Catholicity of the Anglican Church. There are several chapters which treat of Augustine's forbearance with the ignorant and prejudiced, and his success with the heathen people whom he came to evangelize. The book goes on, after tracing the history to the end of the ninth century, to show how, all along, the ideas concerning the Holy Eucharist had been the same even to minute particulars: as to the place of celebration, the consecrated altar stone, the true sacrificial character of the act, the Mass, priest, the altar breads, the mixed chalice, the vestments, the Latin tongue, incense and lights, frequency of Mass, fasting, communion, confession, non-communicating attendance, celebration "with intention," *viaticum*, reservation, and Mass for the dead. All these subjects are treated at length and in an interesting way, and there seems nothing to be desired to render the picture, from the author's standpoint, complete and striking.

In the second volume he has to deal with some of the various heresies and controversies which arose in the middle ages concerning the Holy Eucharist. In so doing the teachings of Berengarius, Lanfranc, S. Anselm, etc., are passed in review. Also changes of discipline are noticed, the abandonment of infant communion (twelfth century), the withholding of the chalice from the laity (eleventh century), the elevation of the Host (eleventh century), the sacring-bell (thirteenth century), etc. Further chapters tell of the riches which churches accumulated from the sacrificial gifts of the people, the princes, nobles, priests and poor alike; of chantries; of canons, monks and nuns; of schools and universities; of the court and the camp; of observance of festivals, etc., ending with a chapter on Wycliffe and the Lollards, their teachings, inconsistencies, characters and causes of success. This brings down the subject to the time of the Reformation, and the author announces his intention, should he live, to continue the history to the present day.

However unable we may feel to accept the author's testimony upon some points, the volumes before us nevertheless have given us very much pleasure, as being novel in design and in much that they contain. The author does not disguise his own dissatisfaction with his book, and writes concerning it with becoming modesty. "By dint

of long and toilsome search into many volumes and out-of-the-way books and documents, much, indeed, that is noble and edifying has been brought together; yet how few the gleanings, how little, compared with the reality that is unrecorded or that has escaped my search." (Vol. II., p. 307.) So also in the Introduction: "I might have called my treatise a basket of fragments; for the history of the Blessed Sacrament reminds one of that of the multiplication of the loaves related in the Gospel. . . . I have not attempted to write the history of the whole banquet, but of one group only, that which has feasted in the island of Great Britain. As one who has shared in the feast, who has eaten and been satisfied, I have helped to gather up the broken fragments which tell of the wondrous miracle."

It may be well to mention, for the information of some, that these volumes do not contend for certain accessories of the Sacrament and Roman customs in its administration as primitive.

Communion in both kinds was the custom, we are told, through the first nine centuries. Before the time of S. Gregory the Great the wafer was put into the *hands* of the recipient, not into the mouth. Frequent reception was apostolic, rare reception the result of indifference and coldness. Early celebrations were by no means the rule, the customary hour being the third, often the sixth, occasionally the ninth, and even on Holy Saturday later still. But nevertheless the rule of fasting communion was rigid and unbending, however severely it might press upon celebrant or communicant. Lights were prescribed at Mass, though they were placed not upon but near the altar, and were by no means indispensable. When Mass was said on a journey or in a private house no candles whatever were necessary. Although two was the usual number, sometimes only one was used, sometimes very many. As to incense, its use seems to have been governed very much by circumstances.

To conclude, we quote a paragraph (Vol. I. p. 180) which may possibly be valuable as a guide to our Bishops in the present uncertainty of mind and divergence of practice in ritual matters among the clergy.

"To insure correctness in the liturgy, S. Boniface used to examine his priests during Lent in the Ritual, the Office, the Holy Mass and Catholic doctrine. And in England, once at least, often twice in the year, each priest was obliged to attend the episcopal synod, taking with him one or two of his clerks and one or two orderly laymen as servants; bringing at the same time the sacerdotal vestments and whatever was necessary for the celebration of Mass, that his manner of performing the service might be approved."

Ecclesia Anglicana: A History of the Church of Christ in England from the Earliest to the Present Times. By the Rev. Arthur Charles Jennings, M.A., Vicar of Whittlesford. (New York: Thomas Whitaker.) 16mo, pp. 570.

In the present volume an effort is made to give the history of the Church of England in its entirety and due proportion. The writer has in view the needs of candidates for theological examinations at Cambridge and elsewhere, and he has accordingly kept those needs steadily before him. He asserts in the plainest terms the rights of the Church in England to her lawful independence, and utterly repudiates the favorite notion of some that the Church there took her beginning at the Reformation, a slander which the Roman schismatics find it convenient to their purpose to spread abroad, and one, too, which the sects of all sorts in England are fond of affirming. Of course, in dealing with so large a number of topics, Mr. Jennings at times gives utterance to opinions and views to which all his readers will not probably assent; nevertheless his principles are manifestly of the kind which the great theologians and doctors of the Church of England have uniformly set forth and defended. In the last chapter he gives a brief narrative of "the Church of the present day" (1820-1881), and delineates the growth of sound Church principles consequent upon the Oxford movement, and the more recent "ritualistic" advance. Portions of this chapter we should certainly take exception to. We do not accord with the attempt to excuse John Henry Newman's abandonment of the Church for the papal obedience by saying that he "had been harassed out of the Anglican fold;" and we do not hold it to be quite fair to assert that "the real presence in the Sacrament is the true point at issue," in the opposition which old-fashioned High Churchmen are constrained to make against "advanced" ritualism and its avowed purposes.

With this much of caution on our part with reference to questions more or less open and unsettled, we very cheerfully express our high estimate of this neat and attractive volume.

Events and Epochs in Religious History. By James Freeman Clarke. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.)

The twelve chapters of this volume, which is well equipped with numerous heliotype illustrations of the Buddhist temples, the Christian catacombs and monasteries, and some scenes in the life of Jeanne d'Arc, were originally delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston, and were intended to interest popular audiences in the religious experiences of those great souls who have helped to lead the human race up nearer to God. In book form they have the merit, and this

is all they can be commended for, that they awaken an interest in the study of ecclesiastical history. Dr. Clarke, in choosing the significant epochs and events in religious history, proceeded more wisely than he knew; he took up the Christian catacombs, the Buddhist monks of Central Asia, the Christian monks and monastic life, Augustine, Anselm, Bernard, and their times, Jeanne d'Arc, Savonarola and the Renaissance, Luther and the Reformation, Loyola and the Jesuits, the Mystics in all religions, George Fox and the Quakers, the Huguenots, and John Wesley and his times. Here he struck much of the marrow and pith of the history of the Church, and while he betrays no gift for interpreting the Christ in the processes of history, he has done something in this popular volume to turn public attention to the rich experiences which are locked up in the history of the religious experiences of the race. Dr. Clarke's literary gifts are not remarkable, but he has a sure instinct for facts, and has made a useful book.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

Memories of Old Friends: Being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox, of Penjerrick, Cornwall. From 1835 to 1871. Edited by Horace N. Pym. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

We know not how to give an exact description of this book, or how best to express our appreciation of its singular merit. We have been more than entertained by its reading, for profit has been a large result both by the revival, in memory, of much anecdotal and biographical incident, and also by the addition of much that is new and valuable. It is somewhat unique in its character. We know of nothing comparable with it unless it be "Crabbe Robinson's Diary." Her associations and training, together with her peculiar mental constitution, gave her special qualifications for such work. She was of "fine old Quaker lineage," and had the instruction and example of a father whose tastes led him to the pursuit of science and to a fellowship with scholarly men. She was born at Falmouth in 1819, and died in 1871. The diary commences in 1835 and closes with her death.

All the requisites of a successful diarist were possessed by Miss Fox. She was of quick observation, penetrative in curiosity, reflective by nature, piquant and graphic in expression and cheerful in disposition, with a buoyant responsiveness to all the claims of friendship and social amenity and an ever stimulating ambition to acquire knowledge. Even in her girlhood she showed a precocity of mental

development and an unusual feminine drift by her addiction to psychological speculation. The versatile and weird Coleridge seems to have attracted her, and his philosophy exerted a formative influence on her mental character. Again, she was privileged to see and hear more of great things and great men than the majority of persons not public characters themselves. She accompanied her father to the meetings of the "British Association," heard papers on scientific subjects by learned savants, and was ever in contact with the best representatives of the diversified culture of the time in which she lived. Archæology, geographical exploration, science, literature, in fact all the departments of learning, were opened to her by the association of her father with the foremost men of his age both in England and on the Continent. Her life, thus auspiciously opened, was packed with opportunities for observation and comment, which she embraced and utilized in diary form for her own pleasure and culture. Without design and "building better than she knew," she has erected a beautiful and lasting monument to herself. After some opposition by relatives, the world has the delight and profit of her "labor of love" in self-education.

It would be impossible to cull from these pages, so replete with interest, in such a way as to properly represent the book. Sketches of character, anecdotes of literary men, incisive remarks on poetry, philosophy and science, the bantering conversation and repartee of rival theorists in art and architecture, etc., can be read with appreciative gusto, but cannot be lifted out of their surroundings without a transformation sometimes amounting to flatness.

To say that such names as Dr. Buckland, the Coleridges, Wordsworth, Southey, Tom Moore, Shelley, Tennyson, Carlyle, John Sterling, John Stuart Mill, F. D. Maurice, Dr. Arnold, Kingsley, Goethe, Buckle, Humboldt, Becquerel, Arago, Ary Scheffer, Dr. Whewell, and of numberless others known to fame, with graphic and multifarious incident, illumine its pages, is enough to give a forecast of its staple, and is our warrant to abstain from quotation, and to leave the reader to his own method in the full enjoyment in store for him.

American Men of Letters. Washington Irving. By Charles Dudley Warner. Noah Webster. By Horace E. Scudder. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

The roll-call of American men of letters dates back hardly so far as the Revolution and furnishes but a limited number of names. Irving is almost the first writer who won a national fame, and is handled generously and tenderly by Mr. Warner, who has much in common with him in point of style and humor. There was not much to say

about Irving because he expressed himself in his writings and not in his correspondence; but what could be said for him in character, in development, in literary relations, Mr. Warner has said gracefully and well. Irving was not a man who took life seriously, or who covered many interests; his contact with the world was limited, and the interest in him is practically limited to Mr. Warner's volume, and yet, as far as Irving goes, he was a true writer, a true man, and the first American author who won an English reputation. Not so Noah Webster, who in the strict sense of the term was not a writer at all, who has left no writings that people read to-day except the spelling-book and the dictionary, but whose career presents more salient points than Irving's and branched out into more lines of public service. Mr. Scudder had a difficult task to perform in gathering the materials for this work, and has succeeded in presenting the dictionary-maker to the world in a vivid if not brilliant sketch, and with a pretty full expression of his personality. At times there is just a touch of the strain of book-making in his pages, but it may be honestly said that no dictionary-maker, not excepting Dr. Johnson in that capacity, ever had his portrait so fully drawn. Both of these volumes lead off the "American Men of Letters" series with a good hope of its usefulness and success. They are handy in form and enter about as far into details as the average reader is eager to go.

American Statesmen. John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, Jr. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

This volume is the initial biography in a series of books which when taken together will indicate the lines of political thought and development in American history. The time has come when such political biographies are demanded by a generation which never knew any of the great prophets of our earlier political existence, and when the materials are accessible for the summing up of the strong points in each statesman's personal history. The present volume, for instance, shows how the "old man eloquent," as Mr. Adams came to be called, initiated after Washington and Hamilton, after John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the high type of patriot statesman which reached its perfection in Clay, Calhoun and Webster. It also sets forth the early stages of the contest with slavery, which John Quincy Adams anticipated long before it entered the halls of Congress as the great sectional issue of the country. Mr. Morse has rigidly adhered to the political history, only dwelling on what is personal in Mr. Adams' life as it illustrates the public career in which he is best remembered, and has made a thoroughly interesting and informing work. It is better than the late Secretary Seward's

Memoir, because Mr. Morse writes with Mr. Adams' diary at his elbow; and if the other volumes in this series are equally well written, these biographies will be of the greatest value to the coming generation of intelligent Americans.

Bacon. By Thomas Fowler, M.A., F.S.A. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

This is by far the most valuable of the series "English Philosophers" thus far issued. Professor Fowler is an authority in this department, and we gladly accept his help. For, though Francis Bacon was a man of great parts, was a writer of no mean power, and was one who has rendered invaluable service to philosophy and a right interpretation of Nature, yet he has never recovered from the effect of Pope's stinging epithet, "*meanest of mankind*," or from Macaulay's pungent rhetoric and damaging representations. In the first chapter of the present volume Professor Fowler gives a concise account of Bacon's life and career, and, presenting him in the best possible light, deprecates the harsh and severe prejudice which still exists in the republic of letters against him. Whatever the ultimate judgment may be in his case, the defense here offered deserves serious consideration on the part of all students of history and lovers of fair play. The five following chapters are devoted to an account of Bacon's works, his survey of the sciences, his reformation of scientific method, his philosophical and religious opinions, and his influence on philosophy and science. The bulk of the volume is mainly occupied with these chapters, and the writer has done good service in the clear and satisfactory manner of his treating the important topics in hand.

Life, Letters and Journals of Sir Charles Lyell, Bart. Edited by his Sister-in-Law, Mrs. Lyell. 2 vols. With Portraits. (London: John Murray.)

These bulky volumes are more than a life of the distinguished geologist whose name they bear. They do give very full and interesting details of that from his very childhood, chiefly made up from his journals and letters. But they also contain valuable sketches of the early days of geology as a science in England, and of the different societies formed to advance its study, with entertaining glimpses of many eminent savants. In his descriptions of his frequent and extended tours abroad, and in his dissertations on political and social topics, he gives ample evidence of that general knowledge combined with amiability of character which made him at all times so welcome as a guest and so charming as a host to the very close of an eventful, honorable and useful life.

It is not a book to be put unreservedly into the hands especially of young people. There seems to have been on the part of the editress a bias against the truths of Revealed Religion, and at times a too great readiness to publish the crude scientific notions of Sir Charles, some of which were afterwards modified by his maturer examination and reflection. We miss the humble and reverent spirit of inquiry which has marked many an equally gifted intellect that has also delighted itself in the deeper mysteries of Christianity.

V. FINE ARTS.

Hopes and Fears for Art. By William Morris. (Boston: Roberts Brothers.)

These fine lectures are a tolerably clear but often wordy exposition of the working principles which the author of "The Earthly Paradise" has applied to decorative art. They are severally entitled "The Lesser Arts," "The Art of the People," "The Beauty of Life," "Making the Best of it," and "The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization." The two last are the most practical and best connected. Mr. Morris is a disciple of Mr. Ruskin and the artists of the English renaissance in his ideas of art, and aims at its development as "a positive necessity of life, if we are to live as nature meant us to." His point is that "you cannot educate, you cannot civilize men, unless you can give them a share in art." One of his fundamental maxims is to "have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful," and another is that "art made by the people and for the people is a joy to the maker and the user." He writes like an ardent theorist and with a poet's enthusiasm, but the correctness of his principles has been proved by his own handicraft, and all his theories are supported by experimental knowledge. Too much of the little book is occupied with protests against pessimism in modern art, but what he says for art as the hand-maid of the people and its relations to human happiness will meet with general approval, and the whole book will be helpful to all who have to deal with art-products in this country.

Ballads and Sonnets. By Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (Boston: Roberts Brothers.)

Mr. Dante Rossetti is a poet in the sense in which Mr. Robert Browning, whom he greatly resembles, is one. He has great power in the development of the tragic features of a story, as witness "The King's Tragedy" or "The White Ship," ballads which have the fire

and ring of the old English poetry; and the third ballad, "Rose Mary," though dwelling more within the realm of the supernatural, shows the same strange power of seizing hold of the imagination. But in "The School of Life," which he entitles a "sonnet-sequence," he does not seem to have a definite aim, and the sonnets fail to make the impression which he intends to convey; they do not render up their meaning easily like those of Kent or Wordsworth or Charles Tennyson-Turner; they attempt to portray moods of the mind or phases of passion which are too shadowy or inconstant for the poet's art; but this is not the fault, to the same degree, of the sonnets on persons in the latter part of the volume. Here Mr. Rossetti again shows his mastery of language and makes it convey his ideas in clear, fresh, winged words. It contains, as a whole, the most vigorous poems which he has yet written, and is in some respects a venture in a new field. The poems will both bear and reward study.

Dorothy: A Country Story in Elegiac Verse. (Boston: Roberts Brothers.)

In this poem of rural English life Mr. Arthur J. Munby has attempted to make a heroine out of the milk-maid at an English farm. Pathos and tenderness are woven into a tale of rough, almost coarse life, and there is just enough of the tragic element to deepen the sympathy of the reader with the leading character. Mr. Munby has set off high life against low life with excellent effect, and has fairly succeeded not only in telling a somewhat sad story in an interesting way, but in investing his rustic heroine, Dorothy, with dignity, character and a certain amount of personal loveliness. The poem has great merit for the picturesque beauty of the verse, and the author is to be warmly commended for having drawn the portrait of a rustic woman as he has actually known her in English life and in his own neighborhood. He has applied pre-Raphaelitism to poetry as honestly as did Wordsworth, and certainly with better results. Wordsworth did not always know the difference between prose and poetry in common life, but Mr. Munby, bold as he is in sketching the English country maiden, has written in the vein of a true poet and uncommonly well. In the graphic painting of nature he is most successful.

VI. GENERAL LITERATURE.

Words, Facts and Phrases. A Dictionary of Curious, Quaint and Out-of-the-way Matters. By Eliezer Edwards. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

This work, although not claiming to belong to the niche of high literature, has much value. Its preparation has cost more thought and patient labor than much of the extemporized mixture of sentimentality and sham scholarship that, sometimes, gives an ephemeral notoriety to magazine contributors. In fact, it is superior to some pretentious efforts that assume to be encyclopædic in knowledge. It is a real thesaurus and contains much solid information, not seldom of an archaic character, stated with clearness and brevity, that may prove a timely aid to the weary student by relieving him of further research.

It contains nearly four thousand articles. The majority are short, comprising not more than a half-dozen sentences; but disputed points are treated at greater length, with the conflicting authorities stated. Again, it has an *omnibus* character, and you may look into it for the most unique specimens of fact or learning. Its versatility makes it an entertaining pastime to read it continuously instead of using it merely as a book of reference.

Withal the author is modest in his claims and that, of itself, commends his work. He says: "The accurate character of the contents of the book has, of course, been my chief object. I have, however, endeavored as much to make the manner attractive as to render the matter trustworthy. But, after all, although I hope and believe that the book is free from serious error, I am quite aware that faults both of manner and matter will be discovered. I can only say in respect of these, that I shall feel obliged if those who detect error or can suggest improvement will kindly communicate with me, so that in future editions defects may be remedied."

Notwithstanding this frank disavowal of perfection, a surprising accuracy has been reached by patient research and study. One interesting feature of the book is the light it throws on the oft-ridiculed "vile Americanisms" in Yankee speech and literature. He shows that many of these had their rise in the best ages of English literature, and their paternity in some of the most notable authors. The book will, hence, be specially timely to some of the dilettant literary snobs of the England of to-day.

The Mind of Mencius: A Systematic Digest of the Doctrines of the Chinese Philosopher. The Original Text classified and translated, with Notes and Explanations, by the Rev. E. Faber. Translated from the German, with Notes and Emendations, by the Rev. Arthur B. Hutchinson. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

This volume is supplementary, if not rather essential, to the Chinese classics now in course of publication, and aims to show in what

way Mencius (B.C. 325) based his political economy upon moral philosophy. The value of the work is that it furnishes the key to a clear and orderly view of the principles underlying and imbedded in the Confucian philosophy. In his researches into human nature Mencius anticipated many of the results of modern psychological study. Like Confucius, he appealed, for the support of his alleged divine mission, to the conformity of his doctrines with the essentials of the human mind as discovered by observation rather than to any external credentials. He was not a consecutive writer. Each intuition stood in intimate connection with the others, but not in any systematic arrangement. Mr. Faber claims that Mencius is better suited than any other Chinese author to serve as a foundation for an explanation of the doctrine of the Gospel in harmony with the mind of China, and has translated so much of Mencius as is here given with that end in view. He is also right in his conviction that, in reference to obtaining a well-founded understanding of the Chinese classics, it is urgently necessary to master on all sides the whole period of mental activity in China, which reaches back to about 250 B.C. The teachings of Mencius are divided by Mr. Faber into groups, the most natural and correspondent with the matter. They are essentially three, the elements of moral science, the practical exhibition of moral science and the result aimed at in moral development—the organization of the State. To some extent the volume is a treatise on the moral and political ethics of the mental life of China. To Mencius the State is the sum of all human endeavors, natural and civilized, working together as a united organization, and the ethical problem is the utmost development of all the good elements of man's nature. While the volume is to Americans chiefly interesting as furnishing a basis of comparison between the ethical positions of oriental and occidental civilization, it is of special value to all who follow closely the missionary movements in China, where it is every day becoming more possible for Christian teachers to grapple with the higher problems of Chinese thought and experience.

Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.)

The title of this book is attractive and at once suggests sundry topics for treatment. We will not say that the reader is disappointed, for the brightness and versatility of thought, as well as the diversity of subjects, more than compensate for the slight sense of misnomer. Perhaps, after all, no better name could have been given the series of articles, inasmuch as there is no connection or continuity of treatment professed or designed. The contents are arranged under the

following general heads: *Æsthetic*, *Chronological*, *Climatic*, *Historical*, *Philosophical*; and by this variety of theme the Professor is enabled to show his breadth of learning and his literary aptitude.

The one pleasant and observable feature, in the texture of the composition, is its simplicity. It is neither dry because of a display of needless learning, nor tiresome because of an arrogant parade of technics and scientific formulas. The Professor is not on exhibition as such, but is simply a highly cultivated scholar preparing an intellectual repast for others who appreciate his learning and refinement.

The opening of the book, in which he assumes the rôle of traveler and guide, gives tone to the whole, and brings him *en rapport* with those who accompany him. He takes the reader to Europe, directly to Switzerland, and to Mont Blanc and the Mer de Glace. He makes the ascent of the former, giving a thrilling history of the tentative efforts until the daring feat was first accomplished. The stimulation of thought and cheer and courage, and the happy exhibition of descriptive power, as objects of interest arrest attention, seem to have been the inspiration of the author through the whole book.

The chapter on "The Beautiful," defining its province and giving its philosophy, shows a man who has cultivated the *æsthetic* side of his nature while working generally with the powers of ratiocination and pure thought. It is not unfrequently asserted that imagination has no alliance with science. That is a sorry mistake, for no grander field for sublime conception or expression can be opened up to the human mind than geology and astronomy afford; and nowhere is beauty of form and color more frequently displayed than in some of the magic transformations of Chemistry. Dr. Winchell evidently regales himself, when unoccupied by profound investigation, by dropping into poetic moods and by following the guidance of a buoyant fancy.

An analysis of the scientific part of the book would be a waste of time on our part, and would greatly detract from the pleasure of the reader. The freshness, informality and colloquial ease of the treatment would be lost, and in those qualities much of the excellence of the book consists. We will merely say that the Professor has succeeded in writing so as to interest those familiar only with the rudiments, as well as those conversant with the minute details of the sciences he touches. "The Old Age of Continents," "Obliterated Continents," and "A Grasp of Geologic Time," apart from their scientific interest have an educational value in a moral direction. They show man his position in the universe as the culmination of the past and lead to a reverent awe in contemplating the Author of both man and nature.

The Burgomaster's Wife: A Romance. By Georg Ebers. From the German by Mary J. Safford. (New York: William S. Gottsberger.)

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One feels after he has read the second chapter of Part IV. of Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic" and this romance that he knows not only of the brave and successful effort made to rescue the city by William Prince of Orange, but also of the nobleness of character and suffering of the inhabitants of the beleagured city. While Motley writes as though he sailed with Admiral Boisot in the fleet of deliverance over the flooded country, Ebers writes as if he had passed the terrible days of that summer in the city and suffered the horrors of famine with its inhabitants.

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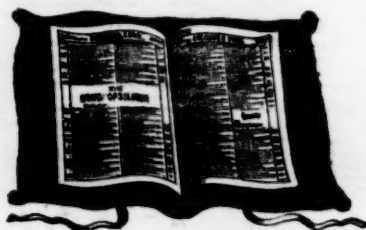
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